EARLY ROMAN-CATHOLIC MISSIONS TO INDIA, &c.

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EARLY
ROMAN-CATHOLIC
MISSIONS TO INDIA;

WITH

SKETCHES OF JESUITISM, HINDU PHILOSOPHY,

AND

THE CHRISTIANITY OF THE ANCIENT INDO-SYRIAN CHURCH OF MALABAR.

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An Historical Essay,

BY

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PREFACE.

It is particularly important in the present day to understand the true character of Roman Catholicism. Every one knows that that system has had much to do with the world's past, but there are many who think it is becoming effete, and that it will have little to do with the future. Nothing will serve better than such a belief to lead it back again to power. Without saying that it is exclusively "the mystery of iniquity," of which Paul warned the Thessalonian Christians, we believe that it is the greatest illustration of that mystery, and that it will have much to do, at least as a source or cause, with that final development of Anti-christianity which is to characterize the end of the present age, according to the Scriptures. Indeed, the variety of appearances which it has presented to the world confirms its title to the name of "mystery." Its portrait in the fifteenth century, with the gross features of immorality and ignorance, would not be recognised in the succeeding generation of the mighty Jesuits; while these again, in their day of youthful power, seem no fit representatives of the enfeebled popery of our own rationalistic age.

But the principles of the great Apostate Church are all unchanged; her claims are the same to-day as ever, and her desire and hope of enslaving the world. Her doctrines have increased, but they have not altered, so that the causes of past atrocities are still integral parts of her system, only waiting for opportunity to bear again the same black fruit. It is true that history reproduces itself, but history is made by men, and in proportion as men understand the past, they will save themselves from the reproduction of its evil.

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The example which India affords of the character of Romanism is a remarkable one. Far removed from Europe and from the battle-field of the Reformation, burning with the zeal of Xavier, mighty with the swords of Portugal and the Inquisition, learned with the new-born literature of the West, and crafty with the super-human subtlety of De Nobili and Beschi, the Church of Rome exhibited in vivid colours its character, purpose, and religious ability in the early missions to India. It did battle with Brahminism on the one hand, and on the other with the ancient Christianity of Malabar; and each of these antagonists, as it came in contact with Romanism, drew out some peculiarities of the system of which, perhaps, nowhere else could we find better illustrations.

But the interest of this page of history is by no means exclusively connected with the study of Romish Christianity. The political condition of India, the land of wealth and wonder to the West, when Europeans first settled on its shores, and an Eastern Cæsar at Delhi was still claiming the allegiance of hundreds of tributary kings; the hoary philosophy of Hinduism, with its superstructure of childish polytheism, and the isolated Christian Church at Malabar, with its eight hundred years of Indian history, and its faint but most interesting testimony of spiritual truth, will, we hope, be matters of thought sufficiently interesting to commend the subject of the following essay to intelligent Christian readers. In the collection of materials the writer has freely availed himself of Hough's elaborate "History of Christianity in India," especially for the story of the Syrian Church, Steinmetz' "History of the Jesuits," Dr. Duff's "India, and Indian Missions," and Marshman's "History of India."

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EARLY ROMAN-CATHOLIC MISSIONS TO INDIA, &c.

Introduction respecting the present condition of India —commercially —politically —religiously.

THE present condition of India is one which makes the study of her history peculiarly interesting: it presents a contrast to every phase through which she has passed in the long ages which tell of her greatness. For more than twenty five centuries she has acted an important part in the history of the world. No country, in ancient or modern times, has, in a similar way and to the same extent, influenced the destinies of Asia and Europe: none, without a voice in the councils of civilized nations, has ever gained or been worthy of so much attention.

The trade with which she has enriched the kingdoms that have trafficked with her, and the almost equally continuous spoliations she has been able to endure at the hand of ruthless invaders, alike bear witness to her wealth; and to this day the rule holds good, which history has established by many examples, that the nation which draws most upon the resources of India, is at least one of the foremost nations of the world.

Glance at the history of Indian commerce.

The story of India's foreign commerce would begin long before the reign of Sesostris in Egypt. It would follow the course of the wandering Phœnicians, and cull from the histories of Judæa and Macedon, Persia and Rome. It would lay before us the development of

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Europe in its merchant navies and its domestic refinement, and account, in a great measure, for the rise and fall of cities and countries; for the successive glories of Genoa and Venice, of Portugal and Holland, and, lastly, of Britain. It might be illustrated by the desert wonders of Palmyra, and the busy mart of Alexander's city, created for the transit of India's riches; and it would end with the record of accomplished peace and union in connection with that island of the far west, which, in spite of its littleness, God has made able to govern the tribes, and to absorb the commerce of the empire of Akbar and Aurungzebe.

Past wars and present peace.

To the same peaceful end comes down the long story of the wars of India. Her northern plain has been the world's greatest battle-field. Persians, and Greeks, and hordes of Eastern Asia, followed by tribe after tribe of fierce Mahometans, have rolled over it like the fire over the prairie. Unceasing wars within kept the cup of misery ever full; while the establishment of Europeans on her coasts brought for a long time only an increase of strife. But now this afflicted country has entered on an age of peace; and whether, by God's mercy, that peace remain unbroken under the strong hand that preserves it, until India can stand alone among civilized nations, or it be but a long breathing time before further conflict, it is interesting to look back from such an era to the different events of earlier history, to see how some of them—even of the darkest—were preparing the way for the present happiness, and to learn something more of the character of man in the excitement and temptation and opportunity of those evil times, and of the design and working of the unknown God whose hand was ever over all.

The present phase of religion.

But apart from the fact that India is now united and at peace, and that her commerce, no longer partial and uncertain, flows in one broad and unceasing stream, the peculiarity of her present religious state is alone of sufficient im-

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portance greatly to enhance the interest of any historical events which have helped to bring it about. While furious invasions and internal wars have levelled in turns her hundreds of thrones, the huge religious system of India—the empire of the Brahmins—has survived them all. Mahometanism and Buddhism have given it the rudest shocks; but it flourished green as ever while the last Mahometan dynasty faded away, and it rolled back the tide of Buddhism from Ceylon to the borders of China.

But what neither Mahomet's generals nor Gavtama Buddha could do is being done by another power. The hand that drove aside the clouds of Europe in the sixteenth century, and took the fetters off the prisoners of darkness, is doing the same for India three centuries later. Millions of Hindus are slowly but surely passing into liberty from a despotism more searching than that of Peruvian Incas, and as tyrannical as that of mediæval Rome. The intellectually leading class of India has boldly seceded from idolatry. It is numbered already by tens of thousands, and every year increases its strength. Apart from missionary schools, with their directly Christian influence and real converts to the truth, the Government colleges of British India, and even the Hindu college itself, founded by zealous Hindus for the support of the decaying faith, are sapping the foundations of Brahminism. Each of the three Presidencies has now its university: that of Calcutta alone has received 1350 candidates for matriculation in one term; while, at the same time, nearly 500 applied for admission at Bombay. These men continually swell the ranks of the "Reformers," and strengthen one another in infidelity and deism. The boldest or most sanguine among them are not satisfied with holding the new opinions themselves. At the risk and cost of what they once held dearer than life they have become apostles of the "Indian Reformation." Their voices shake the great temples as they cry for the regeneration of their country, and thou-

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sands are convinced by their words or overcome by their enthusiasm who have not yet dared to follow their example. Nothing can save Brahminism but power to persecute its heretics to the death. Whether this means would restore the kingdom of darkness or not we cannot say; the history of reformation in Europe affording examples both of its success and failure—in Italy, France, and Spain, on the one hand; and in Britain, Holland, and Germany, on the other. These men have as yet rather the cause of Erasmus than of Luther; but if British power is to continue paramount in India, the era which has commenced must go on; knowledge must spread and superstition retreat before it, and the end of that which is begun must be the utter destruction of Brahminism, and the enthroning of nominal Christianity, or more likely of modern religious thought in its place.

Progress in general knowledge.

Progress in every part of national education keeps pace with this great movement. Intelligent natives congregate at agricultural exhibitions, to examine, and put in use, the steam ploughs of Birmingham. Brahmins, of rigid type, travel with Sudras and Pariahs on the British railways. The Country is being welded together, not only by rail and telegraph, but by the new language which is everywhere necessary to promotion. The Bengalee reformer visits Bombay and Madras, and preaches fluently and intelligibly to those who know nothing of his native tongue. The many tribes of Bombay with their different dialects have a ready escape from Babel in the culture of this language of the far West: while the government, and merchant offices, and banks throughout the entire country are filled by these English-speaking men of every Hindu race, many of them deprived by universal peace, or by the remodelling of the Sepoy army of all prospect of honour and wealth by war, or suffering from the destruction of the native aristocracy by Lord Dalhousie's laws of "Settlement" and "Resumption."

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These are the representative men of modern India. Naturalized to their new position and life; strong and confident; half English in manners, and perhaps in heart, they are abolishing caste, and idolatry, and ignorance, and closing with a growing twilight, the long night of Brahminism. It is from this early morning of New India that we would look back upon one of her hours of darkness; and, if we are heart-sick at the scenes of violence, cruelty, and fraud, and of the wickedness of Pagans outdone in the name of Jesus Christ, we have at least the comfort of knowing that this dark hour ushered in the dawning, and of tracing some connection between the tyranny and selfishness of man, and the present deliverance which is being wrought by the hand of God.

Interest which the foregoing considerations lend to Early History.

Efforts to discover a new way to India, and the first voyage thither by the Cape of Good Hope.

The Portuguese expedition to India was the opening of intercourse between that country and Europe by the great ocean highway. As we have already noticed, India was far from being an unknown land to the people of the West for centuries before that time. Since the Crusades had introduced the inhabitants of Europe to the luxuries of the East, an intense desire for trade with India had possessed them, and the energy of cities, and of the merchant class, which the same chivalrous wars had been the great means of creating, was turned into this channel. But the streams of traffic were scanty and uncertain; and, as they flowed through Alexandria, St. Jean d'Acre and Constantinople, the nations which possessed no influence over these places could do little more than watch with jealous eyes the growing wealth and power of their fortunate neighbours. Moreover the Mahometans commanded the whole of the country through which Indian merchandise had to pass on its way to Europe; and this stimulated the efforts of Spain, Portugal, and Britain to find some new and open route to the land of desire.

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Fleets were despatched in all directions, and, while one course conducted Columbus to the continent of America and gave Spain a richer possession than that she was looking for, the real object of search was attained by Portugal, whose Admiral, Vasco de Gama, cast anchor in the roads of Calicut, in May, 1497.

Importance of the discovery of the sea-passage to India.

Before following the course of the history further, let us consider the importance of this arrival. It was no less than a new invasion of India; nay, it was more important than any previous invasion. There was probably nothing very formidable in the appearance of the few ships that anchored off Calicut—nothing to inspire terror like the swarms of a Tartar or Mogul Conqueror; but it was the invasion of India by Western Europe—by those hardy and enterprising nations whose warriors had conquered the conquerors of Asia, and which still were characterized by the spirit of chivalry, and by the skill and courage of the crusaders. Moreover, it was the opening of a new entrance, or rather of many such, into the heart of India. Hitherto all invaders had entered by the north-west corner, by the gates of Affghanistan. History has taught us how those gates might be locked against an enemy, so as to be more effectual than Thermopylœ was to Greece. But, even if India had learned so to use them, it was now too late; every port and roadstead on her coasts was thrown open to nations more powerful and persevering than those which had set up the successive thrones of Delhi. From this point there has been no going back, no moment when India has been free from the presence of the new invaders. The few Portuguese who accompanied Vasco de Gama were the advance guard of European armies, which, though they have wasted their strength in warring with one another, have moved on, at least as much of necessity as of choice, subduing Hindus and Mahometans alike, and merging all in the great new empire which exhibits the union of Europe and Asia. If we say that

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the progress of these armies was the progress of civilization, we must be understood to have the end distinctly in view. The triumph of Europe is the triumph of civilization; yet the dealings of Europe with India have often been more worthy of Tartars than nominal Christians, and have disgraced in turn almost every nation which has had a share in them.

The political state of India at the beginning of the 16th century.

A view of the political state of India on the arrival of the Portuguese is necessary to an understanding of the history of their colony. It was 500 years since the first Mahometan invasion, and 1200 years since Mahomet Ghore founded the first Mahometan empire in India. Invasion, murder, and insurrection had changed the dynasty many times; and when the first Portuguese fleet arrived, the second house of Ghore was falling to the ground. Within thirty years, and while the new comers were still struggling for a foothold of the soil, Baber founded the dynasty of the Moguls. The Deccan, or India south of the Nerbudda, was long independent of the Mahometan power. Indeed, it might have conduced to its happiness if it had been otherwise, for independence meant war—continual war, with all possible sufferings and barbarities. But the sovereigns of the Ghiljie family, the most short-lived of Indian dynasties, carried the Mahometan arms, in the beginning of the fourteeneth century, to Cape Comorin and subdued the whole country, excepting the tract of land between the Western Ghauts and the sea, which remained unmolested for some time longer.

Conquest would have been a boon, if it had been followed by strong government, but this was not the rule in India; the madness or incapacity of one ruler neutralized the successes of another. The Deccan revolted from under the monster, Mahomet Toghluk. Two fugitives created in the extreme south the great Hindu kingdom of Bisnaghur. When the Portuguese arrived, the head of this kingdom reigned from sea to

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sea over all the Hindus south of the river Krishna, and counted fifty-six kings among his dependents. North of his territory lay the Bahminy kingdom, the Mahometan rival and oppressor of Bisnaghur, which owed its existence to the same cause, and dated it from the same period. It broke up at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and gave rise to five separate Mahometan states, of which the three most important and longest-lived were Beejapore, Ahmednuggur, and Golconda. Anticipating the history a little, we may notice here that half a century later (1565 A.D.) these Mahometan States united against the great rajah of the south, and utterly destroyed the Hindu power of the Deccan in the battle of Tellicotta, making Mahometan authority as complete on the southern as it was on the northern side of the Nerbudda.

History of Malabar.

The strip of country known as Malabar had a more distinct history of its own than any other part of India. Its great inland boundary—the Western Ghauts—was a wall of defence to the people of this region when the Mahometan armies poured down upon the Deccan, or the hostile rajahs wasted the rest of the Peninsula with fire and sword in their yearly wars. Almost unmolested by the Hindu powers of the South, Malabar seems long to have enjoyed an immunity from Mahometan invasion; but the last great general of the Bahminy kingdom,—whose death was the signal of its dissolution,—overran both the Ghauts and the sea-board, and took possession of Goa, a short time before its occupation by the Portuguese. Native traditions assert, with a good deal of probability from the geographical and geological character of the district, that the whole plain of Malabar was given up by the sea about 2,300 years ago. With the history of its settlement in those far-off times we have nothing to do, nor would it be possible to get any certain information. It appears, however, that, early in the ninth century of our era, the first independent king reigned in

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Malabar, and his character and doings were of very great importance to a colony of strangers who were settled in his kingdom. These strangers were the Christians of the Syrian Church.

The Syrian Church of Malabar.

Of all the wonders which astonished the Portuguese on their arrival in India—and they were many,—none would be more unexpected than a Christian church or nation. The pretensions and the power of Rome during the middle ages were so prodigious, that, even now, they almost make us overlook the existence of many independent churches in different parts of the east, so that it is no wonder if the ignorant soldiers and monks of Portugal were astonished, in the first place at the profession of Christianity of the Syrians, and in the second place at their independence of Rome. Yet in truth many such churches were scattered over Asia from Mount Lebanon to India and even China, while others had long existed in Africa on the banks of the Nile.

Rome had not failed to labour long before this time for the conversion or rather annexation of these bodies of Christians; but she had met with little success, except where her patronage was considered sufficiently important to be bought at the expense of liberty. None of these churches was more interesting in its position and character than that of Malabar. In the land of Hindu idolatry, surrounded on all sides by the votaries of Shiva and Vishnu; in the land of yearly war and perpetual change, was settled, in peace and worldly prosperity, one of the oldest of the churches of Christendom. On the slopes of the Western Ghauts and in the plain below, were thousands of professing Christians living, and maintaining, in much of its original purity, the truth which had been entrusted to their ancestors thirteen centuries before. Although probably unknown at this time to the Mahometans, whose rapid raid from the Bahminy kingdom is not likely to have touched these settlers in the Southern end of the Serra and of

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the Concan, and although exercising little of the influence of a Missionary Church, they were nevertheless an important political power on the coast when the Portuguese arrived in India. Their military force consisted of 40,000 well armed and disciplined soldiers, superior to those of most native princes, while the social standing which they had acquired was that of equality with the naires or nobles of Malabar.. This military strength and political importance was the result of the patronage of Ceram Peroumal—the sovereign whom we have mentioned as reigning in Malabar, nearly seven centuries before. But the foundation of the Indian church dates much further back than the earliest kings of Malabar. Lovers of tradition ascribe the first Christian labours in India to the Apostles Thomas and Bartholomew, or to Philip's Ethiopian convert. There is neither proof nor probability to support these assertions, but we have some interesting fragments of history without them. However, the gospel was carried to India, it had taken root there before the end of the second century; for at that date Pantænus, the head of the Catechetical School at Alexandria, undertook a missionary journey to India in consequence of a request for help from certain Christians who were there to Dionysius, the bishop of Alexandria. This request seems to point to the probable source from whence the Indian Christians had received their first knowledge. No further notice of the Indian church occurs in history (excepting the title with which an Eastern bishop subscribed at the Council of Nice), till the middle of the fourth century, when we are told an interesting story of two young Christians from Tyre who visited the Malabar coast as travellers in the company of an elder relative, and who were retained as slaves after the latter had been put to death. They are said to have risen to the responsible position of regents of the country and guardians of a young king, and to have used

Early evangelization of India.

And ancient history of the Syrian church.

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their influence with great effect for the furtherance of Christianity. The elder was afterwards ordained bishop of the country by Athanasius, and became the means of converting many of the heathen to Christ. Cosmas, "the Indian voyager," in the sixth century, reported, from his own experience, the existence of Christian churches both in Ceylon and on the Western Coast, and spoke of them as Nestorians. They changed their views for those of the Jacobites in the ninth or tenth century, after the example of their patriarch at Seleucia, when the patronage of the Mahometans made the latter sect, with the Melchites, the most powerful among the churches of the East. All these churches had lost the spirit of primitive Christianity long before this time, and in 650 A.D., a Christian writer named Jesuyab, lamenting this fact with regard to Persia and India, attributed it to the misconduct of their patriarch, the metropolitan of Persia. But such a temporary and merely governmental evil could not account for a wide-spread spiritual degeneracy. It would have been strange, indeed, if the East had been entirely unleavened by those pernicious principles which so rapidly corrupted the churches of the West. Rome in the seventh century was already far on her way to "that bad eminence" of apostacy on which she has now been seated for a thousand years. The independent churches of Europe were falling before her—Britain, France and Spain, in turn, submitting to the yoke. And the churches of Asia would have been as welcome slaves, and would, in all probability, have shared their fate, had not God cast up a barrier for their protection, which for centuries the emissaries, and even the armies of the Pope were unable to pass. That barrier was the power of the Mahometans. The presumption and fanaticism of the false prophet were overruled by the Divine hand, to be the means of keeping back the flood of apostate Christianity

General declension of the Eastern Churches.

Mahometanism a wall of protection to the Indian Church.

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from the shores of India. And during those centuries the Syrian church had its full day of opportunity and trial; and if, at the end of that time, it was weighed in the balances and found wanting, it is nothing strange that it should have been given, for a time, into the hand of spoilers. Under the Mahometans, Christianity, such as it was in the seventh and following centuries, spread considerably in Asia; the conquerors for a long time judging it good policy to patronise the followers of Christ; and the Malabar Christians probably increased in numbers. But the greatest cause of their increase, was the settlement among them, about the year 800 A.D., of an Armenian merchant, named Thomas Cana. He was possessed of immense wealth and consequent influence. He had two houses, one in the South, and another in the North of Malabar, and two wives, either at the same time or, as history by its vagueness allows us to hope, in succession. A numerous family by each of his wives succeeded him in the possession of his estates; that in the south, whose head quarters were at Cranganore, being deemed the more respectable branch, and declining all equal intercourse with their half-brethren of Angamale and its neighbourhood. It was about the time of Thomas Cana's residence in the country, and no doubt through his influence, that the Syrians of Malabar received the privileges, which we have already referred to, from king Ceram Peroumal. They were a large and important class in the population of his newly-founded kingdom, and he secured their attachment by a wise and liberal patronage. The Christians of the opposite coast had been persecuted by the native princes, and had fled to the mountains; the generosity of the new king of Malabar drew them down to his standard, and settled them in the districts of Travancore and Cochin. In civil as well as in ecclesiastical matters the Syrian Church was made independent

Settlement of Thomas Cana, in Malabar.

Christians drawn together into one district.

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of its Hindu rulers, and responsible to its bishops alone; and the precious privileges which this exceptionally enlightened king had granted were confirmed on tablets of brass, which the Syrians preserved till the arrival of the Portuguese, and which still remain in existence. In spiritual life and in numbers they received valuable help a century later from the visit of two missionary ecclesiastics from Babylon, who seem to have stimulated the church, and converted many of the heathen by powerful preaching and a godly life. From the measure of prosperity they received from Ceram Peroumal they passed in time to a higher, attaining complete independence of the heathen, and being ruled by their own kings. But they appear to have forgotten the value of this liberty, in allowing their kings, in default of children, to adopt the native princes as their heirs. Thus when the Portuguese arrived, their Christian sceptre was no more than a venerable relic, and as such they presented it to the Portugueste admiral.

Moral and spiritual state of the Church of Malabar.

The most interesting question which the existence of this Syrian church in India can suggest to us regards its moral condition and its testimony to Christian truth amid the darkness of heathenism. It is of little comparative importance that it numbered an army of 40,000 men, or that it could show among its relics the sceptre of Christian kings. In considering the efforts made in India by Roman Catholic missionaries, in the name of Christ, we naturally inquire with special interest, what measure of Christian knowledge was possessed by natives of the land which these strangers had invaded; what standard of morality prevailed among the Christians of Malabar as compared with the standard of Rome.

Comparison of Western and Eastern Christianity.

From the fountain head of Judea, on the borders of Europe and Asia, the gospel had flowed out in many streams, to the East and to the West. The streams of the West had, with the exception of the most eastern, been absorbed in

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one swollen, turbid river; those of the East continued to flow in many channels, but their waters, if clearer than that of Rome, were sluggish and shallow. The energy of Europe, of the city whose Cæsars had conquered the world, had made an empire of Christianity, an empire whose subjects were zealous for their own enslavement, and in whom obedience to conscience, or to God alone, would have been treason against the world church and punishable with death. Nothing like this had bound the churches of Asia. Perhaps the force of character necessary to produce it was not to be expected from the Asiatic mind. No doubt something of tyranny, and much of servile obedience might be found among the patriarchs and the people of the Asiatic churches; but, for the most part, there was liberty unknown to the churches of the West. This, however, was not enough to ensure the continuance among them of the spirit of primitive Christianity. The leaven of the East might not be that of the West, but the one was as much a reality as the other. The force of human will in the Papacy might enslave, and almost destroy European Christianity at the very time when it was sickening in Asia, through the sloth and fatalism of the Eastern character. This was, in fact, what had happened in the two churches which were brought into contact with one another by the Portuguese invasion of Malabar. In point of doctrine, the Syrian Christians would have borne comparison, favourably, with any church in the world; but the existence of primitive truth amongst them may be accounted for, at least in part, by that character of quiet sameness which makes the Asiatic of to-day dress like his ancestors of a thousand years ago, while the fashions of changeful Europe have passed through ten thousand varieties. If the truth acknowledged by the Syrians had been held in the spirit of the Lollards, or the Vaûdois, there might have been no need for Protestant missionaries to India; but the history of the church of Malabar brings out no traits of character worthy of the faith which it professed.

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Good points in the character of the Syrians.

We would not, however, deny all credit to the Syrian Christians for the maintenance of Christian doctrine. If there was little spirituality of mind among them, there was at any rate a morality of life which contrasted equally with the manners of the heathen and those of the Portuguese settlers. They were noted for temperance, sobriety, and chastity; for honesty in business and general fidelity. They were courteous to strangers, and deeply imbued with respect for authority; and although constantly armed and trained in the use of their weapons from early childhood, they were the most peaceable of subjects. Moreover, their strength and courage, for which they were held in high estimation by friends and enemies, were beautifully blended with gentleness of disposition, which showed itself in charity to the poor among them and in kindness to their slaves. They were so closely allied to the Armenian Church from the days of their second founder, Thomas Cana, that we might reasonably expect them to resemble the Armenians strongly in character and in doctrine. Their doctrines have been preserved to us by Romish historians and ecclesiastics, and we find in them the resemblance we should have expected; so in spite of the grievous faults which the history of the sixteenth century proves against the bishops and leaders of the Syrian Church, we may hope that the late existence of truth among them was in part the result of that constancy in the national character which distinguished the Armenians for many centuries in enduring Mahometan oppression and resisting the corruptions of Rome.

Doctrines of the Church of Malabar.

But few of the traditions of men which had become part of European Christianity had found their way into the creed of Malabar. Originally tainted with the error which had the name though not the sanction of Nestorius, regarding the person of our Lord, they had abjured it in becoming Jacobites, and they were then sometimes

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accused of having gone to the opposite extreme by adopting monophysite views regarding the person of Christ. They grounded all their opinions upon Scripture, denying the necessity of any other authority. The pope's supremacy was usurpation to them, and the peculiar doctrines of Rome a corruption of the faith. This being the case, it is not necessary to specify the many points on which they differed from the Portuguese monks and priests. The latter held sacred the accumulated mass of opinions which successive popes had added to, and by which they had nullified, the gospel; while the Syrians, in their quiet isolation, having no motive for adding to the Word of God, preserved the letter of it, at least, in much of the integrity of Apostolic days. Yet there seem to have been spots of almost heathen darkness among the churches of Malabar; as on one occasion the native prince, himself an idolater, rebuked them sharply for their neglect of their own religion; and on another, men professing to be Christians were found divested of every idea of Christianity, and knowing no worship but that which they offered to a picture of an old man, a young man, and a bird. Bad as this was, it will not appear to enlightened Protestants to be much worse than the wisdom of the Romish priests who undertook to instruct them, and explained that the object of their adoration represented the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

History of the Portuguese settlement on the coast.

Having thus briefly sketched the political condition of India and the character of the Syrian church at the beginning of the sixteenth century, we now follow the course of the history which tells us how the vanguard of the armies of Europe established itself in the land of the Hindus. The natives were for the most part quite ready to give the Portuguese a friendly reception; and so was their sovereign, the Zamorin of Calicut, the descendant of Ceram Peroumal in the most important branch of his family. But the Mahometans, in this opening chapter

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of Indo-European history, showed the jealousy and hatred of Europeans which they have so often manifested in later times, and which had so much to do with the great revolt which threatened the extinction of British power in India in 1857. By their influence the Zamorin was persuaded to treat the Portuguese as enemies, and on the arrival of their second expedition under Cabral, the factory which they had built was seized, and all the Europeans who were in it were put to death. The Portuguese admiral retaliated by burning Mahometan ships, and the town of Calicut; and sailing southwards to Cochin, he obtained a friendly reception from the rajah of the district, and concluded a treaty between him and the King of Portugal.

The genius of of the Portuguese and other Leaders.

It is not consistent with our subject to enter into all the political details which resulted in the firm establishment of the Portuguese power on the western coast of India. We may observe, however, that it was not effected without the leadership of men of genius and daring. This becomes a striking fact when we notice a similar one in the history of both French and British India. It is not the inferiority of the Eastern races alone which accounts for the immense success of European arms. Sikhs, Affghans, and Rohillas, and even Mahrattas and Mysoreans, have proved themselves formidable enemies to British soldiers on many a well-contested field. Not unfrequently it has happened that the gallantry of the men has barely saved them, while sometimes it has failed to save them from the destruction with which they have been threatened, by the incapacity of their officers, and the imbecility of civil governors has in every presidency been the cause of national shame and loss. But a few great leaders do much. Dupleix and Bussy came near to founding a French Empire in India, which, if it had been established, would have been the result of their political and military genius; and no one who knows the desperate danger from which British statesmen and

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British generals have, by God's permission, rescued our cause in the East, can say that the absence of Clive or Hastings or Wellesley would not have ensured our sharing the fate of Portugal or of France. Pacheco and Almeyda successively maintained the Portuguese foothold against a native army and the fleets of Egypt and Guzerat; and Albuquerque, who followed them, being a man of yet larger views, and fit to rule an empire, seized and fortified the island of Goa, 240 miles south of Bombay, Malacca in the eastern peninsula, and Ormuz in the Persian Gulf; and maintaining himself in these places by means of numerous armed factories and a strong fleet, raised his country at once to great consideration among all the native princes. Albuquerque seems to have been beloved as much as he was feared, and therefore possessed elements of greatness and claims to honour which few men of any race in India had shown in the sixteenth century. But this did not prevent him becoming one of the many martyrs whose memories the histories of France, Portugal, and even England in the east, have to preserve to their countries' shame. The scaffold, the prison, the long-protracted trial, or the cruel contempt of neglect, have rewarded in all these countries, some of the most able and devoted of their Indian servants. He was happy indeed, if such an one was then to be found, who served a higher master than these fickle kings. Of the European nations who have established themselves in India, the French alone seem to have been animated throughout by the desire for territorial aggrandisement. In spite of the immense extent of British India, and the many charges made against the statesmen and soldiers into whose hand it has fallen, it is now an unquestionable fact of history, that territory has been thrust upon Britain by an inevitable necessity rather than usurped by her. There is little merit to be claimed for this, since the one thought of the directors of the East India Company, who

European nations—excepting France—had no desire to found an Indian Empire.

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were no part of the British Government, was to draw as much wealth as they possibly could, and it was their general and very reasonable opinion, that the acquisition of territory, and the wars it would involve, were but questionable honours, for which they might have to pay largely out of their own treasury.

The Portuguese seem to have been influenced by similar motives. They were determined to maintain a monopoly of Indo-European trade, and so swept the seas with their fleets from Malacca to Persia and Arabia; but they seemed to have preferred armed factories to tracts of land, and to have made little or no attempt to increase their settlement at any distance from the coast. That this was by no means the consequence of any respect for native rights they showed plainly by their assault upon the harbour of Diu, belonging to Guzerat, in 1528. Their immense preparations on that occasion resulted in failure, through the great efficiency of the native artillery. This fact would seem strange to those who think of western Europe as always foremost in modern military inventions; but the fact that cannon were first used by the Turks at the siege of Constantinople, in 1453, and that the Mahometan powers in India were in easy communication with those of Europe, makes the superiority of Guzerat intelligible. The invaders were, however, shortly afterwards successful in establishing an armed factory in this harbour, partly by treaty, and partly by force; and their maritime power, increased by this means, caused so much jealousy among the Mahometans, that the Sultan at Constantinople united with the King of Guzerat and three of the native princes of the Deccan to expel them from India. Immense efforts were put forth in this expedition. About three hundred thousand men assailed the ports of Diu, Goa, Choul, and Chale, and it seemed an impossibility that the few regiments of Europeans who garrisoned these places, and who, in the case of Diu, were reduced before the end of the siege to

Great combined attack upon the Portuguese.

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forty fighting men, could maintain their ground. But the desperate valour and military genius of the soldiers of Europe, saved them, in all cases, from what appeared to be inevitable destruction. From that time the Portuguese were almost unmolested by the Indian powers. Men who could fight such battles, and stand such sieges, were not lightly to be quarrelled with. And so the energy and warlike spirit which had been exercised in fighting Mahometan fleets, and Hindu armies, needed a new direction and a new object.

The energy of Portugal directed to Missionary enterprise.

Missionary enterprise offered to supply the necessity. It was no new thing for the spirit of conquest and chivalry to be offered on the altar; for men whose lives were "earthly, sensual, devilish," and whose hands were continually imbrued in blood, to become the self-elected champions of God. Bad as men are, nothing stirs their minds more generally than religion. Ignorantly, presumptuously, they decide for themselves what is truth, or accept what is offered for it by the traditions with which they are most familiar. But whatever they really believe becomes a power on the life, so that those who have a creed in their hearts are ruled and driven by it according to the strength of their passions, or the susceptibility of their minds. Pure religion—the heaven-born gospel of Christ alone—changes the man before it uses him. All other religions, being powerless to do this, must use him as he is. They may, and do develop much that is there already, pouring oil upon the flame of his zeal, and quickening the energies of his soul. But these energies are merely natural, and are often the slumbering enemies of God and men. If religion finds a man brave, she makes him absolutely fearless; if he is obstinate, she makes him as one deaf and blind; if he is cruel, she fits him to be an inquisitor. Hence we do not wonder that the followers of Mahomet should be earnest to make converts, and that they should do so with the sword.

General influence of Religion.

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The fierce tribes of Arabia, united by a religion of enthusiasm, could not be other than fierce enthusiasts. But it is strange to see men contending in the same spirit, if not with the same weapons, for Him who came to manifest that "God is love," and who charged those who would be His disciples, if a man smote them on the one cheek to turn to him the other also. Yet this sight has been a common one in the Christian Church, even from the earliest ages, and the page of history we are now to glance at records one of a thousand examples of it. We have always to bear in mind that professors of Christianity are not necessarily Christians, nor is Christianity chargeable any more than "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity" with what has been done in their respective names. We have seen that she was little known in Europe, in the fifteenth century, and so we do not expect to find her reigning in the colony of Portugal. In opposition to the method of Mahometanism and false Christianity, the true action of the gospel is expressed in one brief and divine sentence, "Speaking the truth in love." Here there is zeal for God and man, and no energy is too great to be consecrated to this service. It allows, yea, charges a man to be "instant in season, out of season, reproving, rebuking, exhorting," but it must be "with all long-suffering and doctrine." To such a spirit, coming in contact with Hinduism, or even with the church of Malabar, all true-hearted men would wish God speed; but such was not the spirit of Portuguese settlers and Romish missionaries.

Xavier an exception to the rule just noticed.

Yet at the very outset, and having stated the rule, we must notice a notorious exception. Francis Xavier was the first Romish missionary of note in India. For forty years before he commenced his labours, priests and monks had been plentiful in the Portuguese settlements. But for the most part their zeal had found other expression than preaching to the natives. Xavier, although a Romanist—a Jesuit—an apostle in the eyes

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of his church, cannot fairly be taken as an example of that church. He stands alone in the picture of his times, a strange, but noble figure, suggesting sad thoughts of misdirected energy and superstitious zeal, yet refreshing the mind that has been studying his contemporaries with traits of love, and pity, and self-denial which one may look for elsewhere in vain. Ignatius Loyola had just founded the "Society of Jesus," and Xavier was one of his first and most illustrious converts. But we cannot introduce our sketch of Xavier's labours by an account of Jesuitism. To do so would be to flatter an evil system, and to disparage a great man. The ignorance, the superstition, the false doctrines of Rome, are no doubt, abundantly illustrated in the life of her Indian apostle, but with all these there was in Xavier an uprightness of character, a denial of self, a devotion to God, and a sympathising tenderness which forbid us to characterise him morally as a Jesuit. We shall therefore reserve our notice of the Society which came to the aid of tottering Rome, and which gave Xavier to India, until we have to consider the missionary efforts of men who were Jesuits indeed.

A view of the Religious systems of Europe and India.

Yet Xavier was the champion of Rome, who went forth to do battle with idolatry, and therefore we cannot well go beyond this point in the history without glancing at the religious aspects of Europe and of India, and endeavouring, as briefly as possible, to manifest the essential character of the two systems of Hinduism, and Romanised Christianity. Neither of these systems was built in a day. As to the latter, it had been growing for nearly a thousand years when the sixteenth century began. Bad at the best, and corrupted during all those ages by elements of evil which never ceased to work destruction, it had at that time, by all testimony, arrived at a climax of apostacy and wickedness. The supremacy which had been sought by ambition, and obtained from a murderous emperor;

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which had been confirmed by the false Decretals, and used for the extinction of national and individual liberty, had enabled the mistress of Christendom to pervert the gospel as she pleased, and to add doctrine after doctrine as she found them conducive to her interests. In this way Roman Christianity became more and more corrupt till "the whole head was sick, and the whole heart faint, and from the sole of the foot, even to the head, there was no soundness in it, but wounds and bruises, and putrifying sores." At the dawn of the sixteenth century its representative was Pope Alexander VI, a man whom the cardinals of that day were not ashamed to set up as the vicar of Jesus Christ, but whose existence would not now be tolerated in the most depraved and lawless society of Western America.

There was no crime of which this supreme bishop was not guilty. And if history can supply an example of a more monstrous criminal, it is his illegitimate son, whom he trained in vice and made an archbishop and a cardinal. Europe had long been prostrate at the feet of Rome; now Rome herself lay bleeding at the feet of the Borgias. The "holy city" was the nest of robbers and assassins; no man's life was safe whose wealth could tempt the insatiable avarice of the Pope or his son. Yet the Church, which had chosen this leader, allowed him to reign in peace; nay, in many of its members, enjoyed and approved his rule, because he paid his servants punctually, and patronised the arts; and he died at length unmolested, through accidentally drinking of the poison he had prepared for a company of his courtiers whose wealth he meant to possess. This was the Pope who sent Christianity to India, the kings of Spain and Portugal having sought and obtained from him a bull authorising them to hold exclusively their newly-discovered dominions, "*with a view of propagating the Christian religion among the savages by the ministry of the Gospel.*"

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We could almost suppose the Papacy had been in the hands of deadly enemies during the election of this Pope; for surely the bitterest hatred, and the keenest satire might have been well expressed in such an appointment. But in truth there was nothing more needed to produce the amazing exhibition, than that Popery should be left to itself. "God gave them up," as He did the heathen world before, "to a reprobate mind." Lies in doctrine produced sin in life, and sin grew by its own nature and because that which produced it grew until it became too big to be concealed, and then there was nothing left but to sin without shame, to call darkness light and light darkness.

It might be unjust to form our opinion of the religious condition of Europe entirely from the character of the Pope and the state of Rome, although no one can reasonably doubt that these were indications of a corrupt state of the church, and that they must have immensely influenced the morals of the people. But unfortunately we have overwhelming evidence that Alexander VI and his cardinals were true representative men of their age. The state of Rome was no accident, but the result of the system which reigned with equal sway in Italy, Britain, and Portugal. Everywhere the regular clergy were avaricious, depraved, and tyrannical. The monks, who were no better, and if possible, more ignorant, ate up the lands like swarms of locusts; and from these the common people learned their religion by means of the blasphemous mummeries of miracle plays and the lives of their teachers. The only antidote to the evil, the Word of God, was an unknown book; so that the will worship and the traditions of men prospered without hindrance. Here and there a few might groan in secret over the state of the church. A man of learning and heart religion like Grostête, might dare to protest openly against the laxity of morals; and the poets Boccaccio, Dante, and Petrarch, might picture the purgatory of wicked popes. But these protests were no more than

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the stones in the bed of the torrent, of which the smaller are borne along, or lie unnoticed at the bottom, while the greatest can do nothing to stop its course. Such was the religion of Europe, when Europe undertook the conversion of India. Nothing could be more unchristian than such Christianity.

We have only further to inquire whether there were any circumstances in favour of Portugal which might make it appear that she was at all better fitted than other Roman Catholic nations of the age to Christianize a heathen country. There were none. She was as fit as any to be an example of the religion we have described. Moreover, we have testimony to the character of the men she sent out to India—testimony not of later Protestant writers, or of enemies, but of Roman Catholics of their own age and country. And besides this, the unquestioned facts of history which we must pass in review needed for their accomplishment the hearts, and minds, and hands of the zealots of Popery.

The state of Society in Portuguese India.

The description given by Roman Catholic writers of life in Portuguese India is sufficiently horrible, and yet it is acknowledged to be but a part of the truth. Profligacy reigned without fear or shame, and shared her authority with violence, treachery, and atheism. One of the severest censors of his own countrymen was the Carmelite missionary, Vincent Marie de S. Catherina, distinguished for his efforts to put the yoke of Rome on the neck of the Syrians; yet this very man applauds the people whom he persecuted with as much earnestness of language as he uses in denouncing the wickedness of the members of his own communion. It is true we must not charge the Church of Rome with all the immoralities of her people; and it may be said that the state of English society in India 150 years ago was no compliment to Protestantism. But there is this difference between Romish and Protestant colonies, that the former have the means of religion, such as they are, established

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among them, while the latter very frequently have not. The British settlements in India were long without so much as military chaplains, not to speak of missionaries or other ministers. Their spiritual interests were shamefully neglected, and the result was a general immorality. But this may surely be more reasonably charged upon the absence than upon the presence of Protestantism. It was very different with the colonies of Portugal. They were never without priests and monks professing to be armed with Divine authority and power to communicate the influences and blessings of the church. Therefore, according to the doctrines of Rome herself, they would be responsible for the moral and spiritual condition of their people to an extent which could never be the case with Protestant churches.

Religious condition of India.

Let us now consider those Indian nations which Alexander VI. desired to convert to mediæval Christianity. The "savages," as he called them, will bear comparison with their missionaries. This, however, is not saying much, nor is it possible to say much in favour of Hindu or Mahometan morality. Turning from Europe to India, we look from one dark picture to another. It is difficult to say which is the worse unless we consider the comparative opportunities and responsibilities of the two, in which case we must certainly condemn Christendom. But neither had that superiority which would have justified it in undertaking to teach the other, yet we find that each assumed this in turn; the Mahometans, who afterwards reigned over India, teaching Islamism to Europe at the point of the sword, and the warlike children of the West returning the assault in a similar spirit, in these missions which we are now considering. The mass of the people of India, however, were quite free from such thoughts of religious conquest. Brahminism was the gift of the gods to them alone, and no stranger could be joined to them in any one of those castes into which

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the gods had divided them. But what was Brahminism? And what moral character did it produce in its adherents? The first of these is a difficult question to answer briefly. One might travel throughout the length and breadth of India, examine its splendid temples, observe the worship of the people, and listen a thousand times to the poems in which they celebrate the doings of their gods, without understanding the fundamental idea, the original philosophy of Hinduism. By such experience one would necessarily learn much of the moral character of the people, enough to distress and to sicken those who had lived in the healthy atmosphere of true Christianity; but one would probably be baffled in the attempt to discover the scheme of man's wisdom which had resulted in such a manifestation of sin and folly. For this knowledge we must go to the ancient writings, which are to India what the Bible is to Christendom. Even this, however, does not make the task an easy one. If, instead of the Scriptures, our authority were the entire works of all the Fathers of the first five centuries, we should hardly depend upon such a ponderous mass of theology as that contained in the "Great Shastras" of the Hindus. It has been said that "the longest life would not be sufficient for a single perusal of them." It would be irrelevant to our subject even briefly to describe their contents. We may, however, convey some idea of their size by noticing that the Puranas alone, which, together with the great epic poems of India—the Ramayan and the Mahabharat—constitute one of the eighteen subdivisions of the sacred books, contain about two millions of lines, while the poems we have mentioned run on through half a million more. The whole of these Shastras are declared to be of divine authority, some of them having proceeded directly from the mouth of the creating deity, and the rest being a revelation from him, through the medium of other gods or inspired sages.

What is Brahminism?

The great Shastras of India.

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The very language in which they are written is sacred, and, in the hands of the most divine race of the Brahmins, carefully guarded, like a precious locked casket with the treasure contained in it, from the presumptuous handling of other men. It has thus been ever difficult for a Brahmin, impossible for any other Hindu, to examine for himself the religion of his own Scriptures. British authority, and the labours of great European orientalists, have, however, now brought to light enough to show clearly the true system of Hinduism, and to bring to the bar of public opinion the philosophy which is chargeable with the moral degradation of India.

Pantheism the original Philosophy of the Vedas.

There are men in India now, men of note and influence, the religious leaders of young Bengal, who contend earnestly that the first religion of their country was a pure deism, a soul-satisfying worship of the one true God; and who, preaching a theology which has been suggested to them by a one-sided view of Christianity, declare it to be the faith of the venerable Vedas. This is utterly untrue, and the authors of it, if honest men, must be strangely deceived. They teach what they desire to believe, but what has been proved by incontestable evidence to be without foundation. The Brahminical religion of India never was anything else than Pantheism. It may not have been—nay it was not—in the earliest days, the elaborate system which now makes room for three hundred and thirty-three millions of divinities, but it was that which naturally produced all that now exists, which made the idolatry and the ever-increasing polytheism of modern times a possibility and a necessity.

The Nature and Attributes of the Supreme Brahm.

It is true the first conception of this venerable religion was that of one supreme God, and that the sacred writings often speak of this being in a manner that might lead us to believe his worshippers could acknowledge no other. He is described as eternal, immutable, immaterial,

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invisible; almighty, omniscient, and omnipresent, and as enjoying unspeakable happiness. But there is nothing in all these words, or in the many others which the sacred writings apply to Brahm, to satisfy the common desires of men with regard to the object of their worship. There is nothing to call forth devotion, or fear, or hope, nothing to accept or reward their services; for the Indian Brahm is absolutely without moral qualities, and, in his present and proper state, without so much as the consciousness of his own existence. His happiness is that of a profound and dreamless sleep. Hence there is no such thing in India as worship of the one supreme God, nor was it ever intended that there should be. The philosophy which imagined Brahm was under the immediate necessity of imagining other gods as objects of worship, and to fill the place in men's minds which could never be filled by a confessedly unconscious divinity. But although new gods are brought upon the scene by Hinduism, the Hindu shastras continually assert that Brahm alone exists. Apart from him there is not, nor ever can be, any animate or inanimate being. This is very plainly teaching that all which does exist is God, and it is just this which Hinduism intends to teach. Brahm, say the Vedas, after ages of repose, awakes out of sleep, and wills the existence, or rather manifestation, of the universe. Properly speaking there is no creation in this. The god says, "Let me be many;" and all that springs into apparently new existence at his will is but an endlessly varied manifestation of himself. In this way the triad of Hindu gods, first drawn forth from the supreme, Brahma, Vishna, and Shiva, is a triple reproduction of Brahm for the further development, preservation, and destruction of the universe. To the same source the three consorts of these gods owe their separate existence; the sensuous ideas of Indian philosophers supposing such sexual variety a necessity for the comfort of the heavens, and the government of the earth. While all the schools of Hinduism agree as

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to the character of Brahm, and the eternal priority of his existence, and while the idea of creation out of nothing has never entered the mind of any Hindu, there is great variety and, indeed, hopeless confusion of theories as to the actual history of the manifestation of the universe. We need not introduce here even the outline of more theories than one; it is enough for our purpose to know the basis of the popular system of worship. We may, however, notice, in order to make more plain the essential Pantheism of India, that all orthodox Hindus reject the doctrine of the eternity of matter as opposed to spirit, as well as that which represents matter and spirit as blended together in the nature of one God. Moreover, that a common belief among orthodox Hindus is, that as spirit cannot create or even influence matter, that which we call matter has no real existence whatever, but is an illusory appearance of a purely spiritual reality.

Sketch of the popular mythology.

According to the popular mythology which is grafted on one or other of the philosophical systems professing to be taught by the Vedas, the entire universe was developed from "the mundane egg," which the supreme god, in one of his hours of consciousness, produced by assuming in turn a male and female nature. Before the formation of this egg, however, all the principal elements necessary to the fully developed universe had been educed from Brahm directly or indirectly; the difficulty so troubling to the Hindu mind regarding the action of spirit upon matter being supposed to be overcome by the doctrine of the grosser elements being evolved from those less gross, which again owed their origin to more spiritual essences, the most purely spiritual of all being the intellectual principle which flowed directly from the Divine source itself. The egg being formed, and all these earlier productions being collected within it, the supreme being entered it in the form of Brahma, and occupied 430,000,000 years in bringing it to maturity. At the end of that time he burst forth in divine splendour and visible form,

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accompanied by the complete universe with its many worlds. These worlds were next peopled with their respective inhabitants—celestial, earthly, and infernal. The energy of Brahma is described as exercised in this work. He strives and fails, then fasts and mortifies himself in order to success. He rages and weeps over repeated failure, and nearly faints away at the sight of the monstrous creatures which find existence in his tears. At length he succeeds both in heaven and on earth. He makes more gods to rule India than men and women to regard them. Evil is personified more than good, for it is easier to imagine the former than the latter. Gods of lust and theft and folly and cruelty, as well as some of a better character, call for the worship of men. Every action of life, however ordinary, however trifling, is put under the supervision of one of these. Everything is religion, yet nothing is spiritual, scarcely anything moral. The future rewards of obedience are of three kinds, the lowest being an upward step in the transmigration of the soul, which, however, may at any time fall back again by subsequent failure. The second is a temporary and sensuous enjoyment of one of the higher heavens, after which the soul returns to its labours. And that reckoned the highest of all—to be attained only by an extraordinary course of self-mortification and abstraction of the mind from all earthly things—is the absorption of the soul in Brahm, —is, in one word, annihilation. For the punishment of the wicked there are 100,000 hells, in one or another of which the offenders against Hinduism are tormented, according to their guilt, for a few years or for millions. But annihilation is the final end of all. What the saint may attain at the close of life by his virtues is the consummation of all virtues and vices, all rewards and punishments. After millions of ages, and many periodical deluges, Brahm is again as at the beginning. The entire universe is gone, returned to its original source. Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva are blotted out as

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truly as their votaries and as the material worlds, and nothing remains—though Hindus declare that exactly the same amount of existence remains—but the supreme god sunk in his dreamless sleep.

Necessary effect of Hindu mythology.

It is not difficult to see what the character of a nation must become under the influence of such a religion as full-blown Hinduism—a religion which insists on being felt every hour by its slaves of every caste; which keeps ever before them the lustful lives of its demon gods in the endless poems which celebrate their deeds, in the shameless representations of the same upon the walls of their temples, and in the association of one or other of them with every circumstance and every state of life. A people will never rise morally above its gods, provided it really believes in them. And if Hindus were to conform themselves to the example of their best and most favourite divinities—Vishnu in the incarnation of Krishna—they would think very lightly of theft and indecency. The ordinary temple worship is, as we should expect, marked by a moral filthiness which can never be fully described to a people of Christian sensibilities. Troops of "sacred" prostitutes are an essential feature of this worship, while one of the commonest objects of adoration throughout the whole of India, by men and women alike, is the indescribable "Lingam," of Thiva. It is inconceivable that a nation should remain for ages under such influences as these without sinking below the average state of human depravity.

Effect of the original philosophy.

Moreover, apart from the examples of their gods, and the immoralities connected with their worship, the original philosophy of Hinduism was of itself sufficient to deaden the conscience and to paralyse the mind in any struggle with evil. In its consistent Pantheism it denies that man is a servant to God, and teaches him to consider his relationship that of a part to the whole. As Brahm must

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be everything, predestination accounts for all that is bad, as well as all that is good in the world, so that man has no free will, and therefore we might reasonably add, little conscience, no merit, and no guilt. And if nature so far survived these theories as to persuade the Hindu that his future in some measure depended upon himself, he found little to encourage him in the meagre reward held out to a lifetime of tedious ceremonies, or in the assurance of a common final annihilation to good and bad, to gods and men.

Lessons which may be learnt from Hinduism.

Such was the religion of India when it was invaded by Roman Catholic Christianity. Such had been its influence upon its millions of people, when the men of Portugal and of Rome landed upon their shores. The absurdities of Hinduism have, no doubt, often caused a smile; but if we would learn something from them, we must see, not a subject for mirth, but an awful and humbling proof of the vanity of man's philosophy in the matter of religion. The men who laid the foundation of the system we have been considering were no thoughtless savages, or wild dreamers, or collectors of distorted traditions, but men of mental power and earnest meditation,—men who were dissatisfied with the conclusions of the philosophers who preceded them, and who dared to grapple anew with the great problems which none had hitherto been able to solve. They were men who would know the nature of God, the origin of evil, the history of matter, and who dwelt upon these questions until they thought they had found an answer; and their scheme was as reasonable in its first conception as those of other rationalists who have ventured self-confidently upon the same ground. They could not, any more than these, satisfy the heart or allay the fears of guilty men, and hence others quickly built upon their foundation a monument to their shame.

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Comparison of Hinduism and Roman Christianity.

We need hardly say that no systems could present a greater contrast than true Christianity and the Pantheistic idolatry of India. Yet we cannot but see many points of resemblance between the latter and the Christianity of Rome. In direct contrast with the Gospel, which proclaims salvation by grace through faith alone, Hinduism and Roman Catholicism exalt man's works, the one as the only means, the other as the principal means of obtaining the favour of God. They are two great systems of self-righteousness; but when we come to examine the righteousness which they produce, we find there is nothing more in the one case, little more in the other,—except when light from without raises the soul above the system of Rome—than a round of trifling ceremonies, without any moral or spiritual element. Both Hinduism and Romanism, in their fuller and later forms, were made by the priests to magnify themselves at the expense of the people. Their persons were sacred, their interests considered in all things, their enrichment identified with service to God. In order to secure the people's dependence upon them both in Europe and in India, they kept the sacred books in a language which the people did not understand, and thus they were able, without shame and without opposition, to prescribe and to demand what they chose, although in the one case it was directly opposed to the teaching of the Bible, and in the other found no place in the most sacred of the Shastras. We shall have occasion to notice hereafter how some Romish missionaries practically acknowledged the resemblance of the systems in their adoption of heathen rites. But, apart from this, the church of Rome had for ages been teaching Brahminism to Europe, and the Brahmins Romanism to India, in the pilgrimages, and ablutions, and penances, and self-mortifications with which both systems endeavoured to satisfy the most sensitive souls, and to quiet the most uneasy consciences.

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Imitation of truth in Hinduism and Romanism.

No religion is so dangerous as that which most closely imitates the truth. Romanism must necessarily imitate the truth in order to have a standing at all, because its origin is primitive Christianity. Hinduism has no such connection with revelation, yet we find truth strangely copied from time to time, even in the midst of its bold Pantheism and monstrous idolatry. God, it teaches, is all and everywhere; His worship and service are the true life of man; nothing is too little to offer Him, nothing too great. There is enough of the image of truth here to carry home even to many inquiring minds the lie upon which it is painted. But what a contrast have we in the result of its reception to that produced by the Christian teaching from which it might seem to have been borrowed—"to live is Christ"—"whatsoever ye do in word or deed, do all in the name of the Lord Jesus, giving thanks unto God and the Father by Him."

Each of the two systems the complement of the other in relation to a spiritual truth.

Before leaving the subject of the moral relationship which subsists between Hinduism and Romanized Christianity, we may notice one point in which they are the complements one of the other, and in which together they afford, perhaps, the weightiest of all examples of a great truth of Holy Scripture. That truth is, that the natural man cannot find out God, nor even retain the knowledge of Him that has been given by revelation. He "understandeth not the things of the Spirit of God, neither can he know them because they are spiritually discerned." And, again, as "the carnal mind is enmity against God," it "does not like to retain God," that is, the true God, "in its knowledge." Hence Hindu philosophers struggled in vain to account in a reasonable way for God and His works, and "professing themselves to be wise, they became fools." Hence, too, worldly and merely nominal

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Christians who succeeded the apostles and earliest bishops of the church, in spite of the mid-day splendour of Gospel light, fell gradually back into midnight darkness.

There being so little to choose between Hinduism and true Romanism, the efforts of the Pope's missionaries and prelates cannot much engage the hearts of the lovers of truth. And yet none of these, we think, have been able to read the story of Xavier's life without some feelings of love and admiration, or without a measure of shame that such zeal as his has so often been wanting in the bearers of the Gospel of salvation. While it is certain that a belief in the doctrines of Rome tends to destroy all faith in God, and so to prevent the fruits of the Spirit, history affords us many examples even in the darkest ages of men, who neither knew nor sought an escape from the apostate church, taught by the still small voice in their hearts. Thus Grostête could sit as bishop of Lincoln, and denounce with indignation, made weighty by a holy life, the corruptions of the papacy. Thus Curione, and Vergerio, and others of the "Renaissance" could walk for a time in the land and within the Church of Rome by a light which Rome could never have given them. We believe Xavier's heart was moulded by the hand which moulded theirs; nor will any one who marks the wonders of God's ways, or who remembers that He is able to fill one "with the Spirit from his mother's womb," find it inconceivable that the Romish saint and apostle should also have been a humble child of God, and a believer on Jesus. He had not the light which enabled Fra Bernardin Ochino to preach, in his cowl, salvation to the crowds of Venice. His soul was never electrified by the concentrated truth of God's message to the monk of Wittemberg. But if, on this account, his usefulness was not to be compared with that of Gospel preachers in the Church of Rome,

Bright exceptions in the Church of Rome to the spirit of Romanism.

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the Christian elements of his character shine out, in the gloom which surrounds him, with the greater brilliancy.

Danger of exaggerating the virtues of Xavier.

Yet we are far from considering Xavier, apart from his work, as a satisfactory Christian. If his heart was tender with the love of Christ, his mind was darkened by belief in Rome; and that belief, held with all his eager enthusiasm, produced grievous inconsistencies of character. Moreover, the story of his life has no doubt been grossly exaggerated. If we receive it from the biographies of Roman Catholic writers, we must believe in apostolic miracles, in superhuman exertions and sufferings, and in unprecedented missionary success. If, on the other hand, we would learn it from his own letters, and turn to those annual epistles which he wrote to his friends in Europe, we are likely to be deceived by a burning earnestness and by sentiments of piety which are greatly qualified by the thoughts of the same writer in his more frequent and familiar intercourse with a missionary friend. In these last letters we see the man; a character more real, if less divine, than other authorities would make him, and yet so great as to justify the admiration we have expressed.

Birth and early life of Xavier.

Xavier was born in 1506, in one of the noblest families of Spain. His home was an ancient castle in the kingdom of Navarre, where he spent a somewhat lonely and contemplative youth. At seventeen he left his father's castle for the University of Paris, where he studied philosophy with native talent and characteristic earnestness. The result was agreeable to his ambition. He became a Professor and Lecturer, and his lectures won him some fame. He was at that time as unlikely as any man to adopt an exclusively religious life. But there was one watching him whose eye had detected the enthusiasm and nobility of his character, and who possessed one of those master minds which control the wills of other men, and change the direction of their lives. Ignatius Loyola was at

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Ignatius Loyola—his influence on the life of Xavier.

Paris, lodged in the College with Xavier. One of the most chivalrous of soldiers, cast out of his profession by honourable wounds, he had devoted his life to spiritual warfare. The Knight of Spain, the gay courtier and gentleman, had passed off the scene, and the Knight of the Virgin occupied his place, in the guise of an eccentric mendicant. That mendicant, shrunk from with horror, or hooted at in derision, was laying the foundations of a kingdom which was to exist in the midst of all kingdoms, and to trouble them all. Probably at that time he was unconscious of the greatness of the system his hand had begun to form; but he knew the materials that were most valuable for any great and enduring building, and he set himself patiently to collect them. He did not work in vain at Paris. He went to it one man, and left it ten—ten men of one mind and heart, individually great and fitted for great things, but ruled absolutely by the will of the original Ignatius Loyola. Xavier was not easily won. The world smiled upon him, and Ignatius called for separation from the world. Faber, the former swineherd of Savoy, surrendered quickly; but the proud and high-born Spaniard in the midst of his philosophy, disliked and ridiculed the ignorant enthusiast. Yet Ignatius, in his ignorance, was stronger than Xavier with his philosophy, and, in spite of the resistance of the latter, the walls were undermined and the fortress taken. Patient endurance and acts of timely kindness compelled the young professor first to admire and then to love; and in the intimacy of hearty friendship, the fire of Loyola's religion kindled an equal flame in the heart of Xavier. Whether the grace of God was at this time communicated to the future missionary or not we cannot say, but there is something very like the working of the Holy Spirit in this incident of these men's lives. Ignatius, with his deep human wisdom, had been expressing joy at his friend's success; then, as if musing in himself had added,

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"But what is a man profited if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" That word, whatever was its really spiritual power, was mighty for Ignatius and for Rome. It converted the professor of philosophy into the apostle of the Church.

"Heretical" influences on Xavier.

Protestant influences are said to have been at work on Xavier before the arrival of Ignatius. The reformation had its converts and supporters in Paris, and with some of these he may have become familiar; but the language in which he refers to his heretical acquaintances would be more applicable to the freethinkers of the School of Lorenzo de Medici, which the revival of letters had created, than to the sober and godly followers of Luther and Calvin. He says of Ignatius, when introducing him to his elder brother in Spain, "The benefit he has conferred of highest value is that of fortifying my youthful imprudence against the deplorable dangers arising from my familiarity with men breathing out heresy, such as are many of my contemporaries in Paris in these times, who would insidiously undermine faith and morality beneath the specious mask of liberality and superior intelligence." It is quite possible, however, that Xavier, under the influence of Loyola, might speak in these terms of men whose Protestant faith and morality ought to have commended themselves to his conscience, and at the same time that he might have learned from them some lessons of truth which his heart and life retained after he had cast off as heretics the men who had taught them.

Ignatius and his associates in Italy.

Three years more Xavier spent in Paris, and three with his confederates in Italy—the latter period as a poor friar, tending the sick in the hospitals, and preaching a revival of religion in the universities. Then came the call to his great life-work. The king of Portugal heard of the new order which Loyola had founded, and the piety and zeal of its members. He

The call to missionary work.

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was dissatisfied with the monks of the old type who had been sent out to India to win souls, and had done little but care for their own bodies, so he begged the entire society from the Pope, and the Pope was ready to give it. But Loyola had a will of his own, which neither Papal supremacy nor Jesuit vows could set aside; and as he did not want to go to India, or to part with the weapons with which he meant to conquer the world, the king and the Pope had to change their minds. Loyola gave them two of his party, and a fever seizing upon one of these, more generously substituted Xavier, with whom his general would not lightly have parted. With the devotedness which ever characterized him from the time when he renounced the world at Paris, Xavier yielded joyfully to what he believed was the will of God. But through the long and many delays of those times, it was more than two years before he set foot in India. There was room for missionary work, however, on the way. Ten months at Lisbon, and six at Mosambique, offered many opportunities of doing Christian service, and Xavier used them to the utmost of his ability. In May, 1542, he landed at Goa, where he is said (with no improbability) to have spent the whole of the first night in devoting himself to God, and praying for blessing on his labours.

The labours of Xavier in India.

And now, what were those labours, and what the amount of blessing which accompanied them? We have seen that we cannot rely on the accounts of the Romish biographers of Xavier, and that we must trust for information almost exclusively to his own letters; moreover, that the rose-coloured tint of his yearly epistles, written in the exciting atmosphere of communion with Loyola and the great ones of Europe, is apt to deceive us, and therefore that, while we may count on the truth and honesty of the writer, we must look for the picture of his heart and life to more homely correspondence. Facts Xavier will always give faithfully, and to those

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facts we now turn. For five months after his arrival in India he remained at Goa, discharging the functions of a priest of Rome, but adding to these a constant and earnest testimony against the vices of the nominal Christians of the place, and a strenuous endeavour that appears to have had some measure of success, to lead them into something of Christian morality. But great as were his zeal and purity of life, they were not accompanied by that stability and triumph of faith which have distinguished so many Protestant missionaries in years of discouraging labour. We find him continually moving from place to place, and when we seek in his letters an explanation of these movements, we meet with so many expressions of disappointment and impatience, such open avowal of failure, that we are obliged to believe he was more led by vague hopes of better success in further and yet further fields, than by the principles of apostolic evangelists. Before he arrived at Goa, a college had been founded for the education of natives in the doctrines of Rome, with a view to their becoming the Pope's missionaries to their countrymen. The college was not finished, and there were neither students nor applicants for admission; but the want was already supplied by Rome's easy way of making Christians and missionaries: a number of children had been procured, who were, by the divine will and transforming power of the church, to be fitted to convert the thousands of the heathen. Xavier gave much attention to this college and obtained the transfer of it to the Jesuit Society. Before half a year had passed he was in another field of labour. This was the pearl fisheries of the Paravars, in the neighbourhood of Cape Comorin. The choice of this region was not of Xavier, but of the Portuguese governor, Don Alphonso de Soza, who had a scheme in his mind, to create a united nation of these scattered fishermen, who had already, under Mahometan oppression, purchased the protection of the Portuguese

Mission to the Paravars.

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by a promise to become Christians. Even before Xavier's time, 20,000 of them had, according to the Jesuit authority Tursellinus, been baptised by Romish priests, who immediately after left them to themselves. For a year Xavier laboured among the Paravars, having the encouragement of performing thousands of baptisms. He knew nothing of their language, nor did he ever acquire it; for, nearly two years after this time, during a later visit to this same people, he describes in one of his letters his helplessness in the midst of a population of an unknown tongue, without the assistance of an interpreter. He adds that he ought to be an adept in dumb show; but that nevertheless he is not without work, since no interpreter is needed to baptise infants just born, or those which their parents bring, or to relieve the famished or the naked who come in the way. The absence of his interpreter on this occasion was owing to sickness. Xavier freely availed himself of such help whenever he was able; and indeed, according to the Jesuit Bouhours—the loudest of his panegyrists—he had much need of it; for, says that authority, "in truth he spoke very badly, and his language was but a confused jargon of Italian, French, and Spanish." With the picture of Xavier's helplessness before them, drawn by his own hand, it needed the boldness of Romish casuists to declare, as in the process of his canonization, that "when he visited people of various tongues, which he had never learnt, he was in the habit of speaking their language with as much elegance and fluency as if he had been born and educated in the countries, and it often happened that when men of different languages composed his audience, each heard him speak in his own tongue."

Description of Xavier's mode of preaching.

One of the most familiar passages of his letters describes the way in which he laboured on his first visit to the Paravars. He was accompanied by several boys from the College at Goa, and was joined in the midst of his work by a

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coadjutor from Europe named Francis Mansilla. His first care was to have the creed, the Lord's prayer, the ten commandments, and the Ave Maria translated into the language of the people; his next to commit them to memory. He then commenced his visitation of the different villages. Twice a day, by the sound of a bell, he called the inhabitants together, repeated to them what he had learnt himself, and exhorted them by his interpreters to listen so as to remember it, and, when they had done so, to go home and teach the words to their families and to their neighbours. The people soon learnt to follow him in his repetition, and readily professed a belief in every article of the creed as he separately pronounced it. By such means, together with baptism, "he made many Christians," but he found reason afterwards to doubt whether they so much as understood what they had professed to believe, as they had been commencing their repetition of his words in the creed with "volo" instead of "credo." However, they were gladly reckoned Christians by the Romish Church, and there is no reason to think they were inferior to the generality of her converts among the heathen. But Xavier had too much Christianity in his own heart to allow him to be satisfied with such converts. However he had got the measure of truth he possessed, he did not know how to communicate it, and so it is no wonder that, although he ever retained a pitying love for these poor Romanised Paravars, he soon turned to seek for better success, not only in other districts, but among Hindus of a very different class.

His attempt to influence the native princes.

His next effort was directed towards the Kings and princes of India, in the hope of their influence and example being the means of nations being born in a day. But here again he was doomed to disappointment. For several months he remained at one spot, seeking to obtain an interview with a sovereign whom he called "the great king of

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Travancore," and who was probably no other than the Rajah of Bisnaghur, whose extensive dominions we have already noticed. But neither Kings nor Brahmins would own the sway of the apostle of Rome. However, Xavier gained something by these negociations for his poor friends on the south-east coast. They had suffered grievously since he left them, from the incursions of a people spoken of as the Badages, who were probably the army of the great king which collected his royal dues from the fifty-six turbulent kingdoms which owed him allegiance. They had vowed the destruction of the Paravar Christians, and attempted it with too much success. Xavier flew to their relief, a work most congenial to his generous nature, and by his timely help, and wise arrangements, together with such influence as the "King of Travancore" could exercise over his lawless soldiery, they were restored to some measure of comfort and safety. Failing with the great, Xavier had no alternative while he remained in India but to continue his labours among the poor; and he did this in his usual spirit of zeal, tenderness, and superstition, in different parts of southern India, between Goa, and the district of the Paravar fishermen. In Travancore especially he made a great number of converts, and it is of his visits to that kingdom that one passage in his letters asserts that he baptised 10,000 heathen within the space of one month. The fact, however, that this statement occurs in only one of his letters, while four others were written at the same date, of which one was to Ignatius Loyola, and another to the King of Portugal, makes it very doubtful whether Xavier was the writer of the passage in question. The extravagant and shameless manner in which his panegyrists have invented experiences and miracles to do him honour makes it far from improbable that some other hand than his inserted these high-sounding

Xavier succours the poor Paravars.

Questionable statistics of baptisms.

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statistics. Moreover, the "very many Christians" of whom Xavier does speak as the fruit of this visit he acknowledges to have been the converts of a native Christian, who accompanied him, rather than his own, for he recommends this man to his friend, Mansilla, as one who "knew perfectly the manners of the people, and the means and precautions which it was necessary to take with them," and charges him to do as he himself had done in following his advice, and letting him do whatever he judged to be expedient.

Xavier's disappointment in India.

But the Apostle of Rome, notwithstanding these successes, was longing to leave India. He was disappointed in the natives, both kings and fishermen, and disgusted with his own countrymen, whom he called "the filth of the human race." He expressed to Mansilla an intense desire to turn his back upon the land where he had expected to live and die, and to sail away to Ethiopia; but one hope detained him a little while. The native Christians of Manaar, a small island near to Ceylon, had been cruelly persecuted by their heathen king, and hundreds of them had been put to death. Xavier, who had always one hand for politics, and a heart for sympathy, threw himself eagerly into the matter, not to console the sufferers by the Word of God, and such aid as he had obtained for the Paravars, but to punish the rajah of Jaffnapatam by the fleet and army of the viceroy. His heart burned with indignation and hope, for he considered this a time for the destruction of the wicked, and for the building up of a Christian kingdom. The expedition was rapidly planned, and Xavier hastened again to the south, to be ready to enter the door which the sword of Portugal would open. But what was done in worldly wisdom for the cause of Christ was frustrated by the worldly wisdom of others. The seizure by the offending king of a Portuguese vessel with a rich cargo put an end to the expedition; for the governor preferred peace, and the recovery of his goods, to a doubtful war with an

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He leaves India, and satisfies himself that he is no longer wanted.

apostolic benediction. Xavier now hastened away from India. It had no further attractions for him, and he persuaded himself that it no longer required his services. His letter written from Amboyna, in the eastern seas, says he had taken care that the Comorin Christians should have no lack of spiritual aid, and that those of Ceylon, not far from Cape Comorin, were "admirably instructed by two Franciscans, and as many priests." "Other native Christians," he adds, "who are in the Portuguese cities, are instructed by the means of the bishops. As soon as I perceived that my labours were not at all needed in India, I went to St. Thomé on my way to Macassar." It is very striking that in this apology for leaving India, Xavier makes no mention at all of the work of evangelising the heathen, and this silence agrees well with a passage which occurs in one of his letters written at a later period—"Believe me, trust my experience, all our ministry to this nation reduces itself to two capital points—the baptism of children, and their instruction as soon as they are capable of it."

His voyage among the Eastern Islands.

His labours elsewhere than in India do not come within the limits of our subject. For nearly two years and a half he travelled throughout the Chinese Archipelago, doing little more, according to his own account, than "searching through all the localities of the Christians" who had been made by earlier missionaries, confirming these in what they already believed, "baptising very many infants," and establishing the influence of the Jesuits wherever it was possible. He returned to Goa in 1548, again disappointed; for the inducement to make this long voyage had been the reports which he had heard of the readiness of the islanders to receive Christianity, and of the conversion and baptism of two heathen kings. The character in which he chiefly appears during the period of his second stay in India, which extended to fifteen months,

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His work as Head of Romish Missions in the East.

is that of a general superintendent of missions, and a commissioner of the king of Portugal. We gather from his letters that he exercised over all Jesuits in India an authority as unlimited as that of Loyola over the whole Society. He planted and supplanted men as he pleased, and enjoined upon them constantly the Jesuit duty of implicit obedience. At the same time his authority was always exercised with such courtesy and tenderness as to prevent all suspicion of pride and self-seeking. Besides the missionaries of other Roman Catholic orders, there were now more than twenty Jesuits who had entered upon the Indian field of labour. These were not all settled on the mainland of India, but were distributed by Xavier among the principal stations held by the Portuguese in the eastern seas. By his authority at this time the Jesuits acquired for their Indian mission that pre-eminence which they held with characteristic skill and tenacity until Rome herself became ashamed of their enormities. The influence which he possessed in secular matters, through the friendship of the king of Portugal, Xavier used as freely as his ecclesiastical powers. He gave directions regarding the trade of the pearl fisheries, and recommended to royal favour persons of various classes, from the poor priest to the governor, whom he thought worthy of promotion, and threatened with punishment, which he was fully able to execute, those who were of a different character.

Interest in Japan. The Japanese convert Anger.

Very soon after his return from his long voyage among the islands, Japan became the great object of attention to Xavier, and he embarked for that country in the summer of 1549. No event in his missionary life is invested with such true interest as this; none has so much appearance of the Divine approval and arrangement. Here we have, to all appearance, a true convert to Christ brought out of heathenism by means of Romish missionaries or traders, and then leading and

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accompanying one of the former to his native land, that they might together pour the few rays of light which they possessed upon its darkness. This convert was a Japanese gentleman named Anger, who had killed a man in Japan, and had left his home as much from distress of conscience as from fear of discovery and punishment. A Portuguese merchant, from whom he sought help and counsel, advised him to go with him to Malacca, where Xavier was supposed to be labouring. The Japanese readily assented, and according to his own account, received so much Christian instruction from the merchant by the way, that he was ready, had circumstances allowed, to be baptised on his arrival at Malacca. He was disappointed, however, in his expectation of finding Xavier, and therefore attempted to return to his own country. But after being within sight of land, a violent storm drove him back to the port from which he had sailed in China, and there he was found by two Portuguese, one of whom was his earliest friend, and was advised by them to turn again towards Malacca. This time Xavier was found, and the Japanese was at once joined to him in a lasting friendship. They proceeded to Goa, where Anger received such further Christian instruction as the Church of Rome could give, including at least the gospel of Matthew, which he learnt by heart, and where he, and his servant who accompanied him, were afterwards baptised. The letter in which this Japanese convert gave an account of himself to the Jesuit Society at Rome is very interesting, and presents a contrast in its Scriptural simplicity to many of the epistles of his teachers, especially to the manual of instruction which Xavier must have written about the same time for the native converts he was again about to leave. The latter is characterised by the grossest superstition, and some of the most absurd of the fables of Rome, while the letter of the Japanese, which is of considerable length, contains not one word, excepting the names of persons and places connected with the Romish Church, which might not

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have been written by an intelligent Protestant convert. One passage will show satisfactorily that this one heathen at least may be reckoned to have been led into the fold of Christ, whatever was his connection with an apostate church—"Now that God, the Creator of all things, and Jesus Christ who died on the cross for our salvation, have thus furthered our undertaking, we trust that all may turn out to His glory and for the propagation of the catholic faith. I am every day more and more convinced of the truth of the Christian religion, both by the many mercies which God has lately granted me, and by the deep peace which I experience through my whole soul." With this companion,—honest and zealous like himself—and four others, Xavier entered upon his mission to Japan.

Xavier's visit to Japan.

Again our subject forbids us to to follow him into the details of his success and failure, but we may notice that he had more than usual experience of the former, the first harvest being from among the relatives and acquaintances of Anger; and that often, as far as we can judge, by no other means than by communicating doctrine, and sometimes by the help of diplomacy and presents to a native king from the Portuguese viceroy, considerable numbers were led to a profession of Christianity and the rite of baptism. These were greatly increased in numbers by missionaries who followed in Xavier's footsteps, so that when persecution broke out on account of the new faith, the Christians were strong enough to maintain the struggle for forty years, and when, after that time, in 1637, the emperor, like the catholic king of France, ordered a general massacre of his dissenting subjects, 37,000 of them are said to have fallen at once. But of all this great numerical success, a very small share must be attributed to Xavier. He was never able to speak the language without an interpreter, and when, at a later period, he was preparing to enter China, where he might reasonably have expected a similar result, he

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said, "I shall succeed in opening it for others, since I myself effect nothing."

His return to India, and last sojourn there.

Xavier was two years and three months in Japan, and he returned to India in January, 1552, after an absence of nearly three years. It was his last sojourn in India—a short and a painful one. In less than three months he was on his way to China, more glad than ever, no doubt, to escape from a land where he had been so bitterly disappointed both in the heathen and in his own countrymen, and where, on this last occasion, he had experienced the heaviest grief of all, in the scandalous behaviour of the only men in whom his confidence had hitherto remained unshaken, his fellow-associates of the society of Jesus. He desired to make his voyage to China a political embassy, and for this purpose, making free use of his influence with the king of Portugal, he took with him a merchant in the character of an ambassador. The reason for this arrangement was that all foreigners were forbidden to enter China on pain of death. But the governor of Malacca, the successor and brother to one who had always befriended Xavier, spoilt his plan, seizing upon the ship and forbidding the enterprise. Xavier had no alternative but to abandon the mission or to go alone. With true courage, though with questionable wisdom, he chose the latter course; but neither the crown of martyrdom, nor the honour of a successful ministry awaited him in China. He died on the Island of Sancian, within sight of the land he was not permitted to reach.

Death of Xavier.

Some comparison between Xavier and Martyn.

The circumstances of Xavier's end remind us of the death of Henry Martyn. Alone in the midst of the heathen, in wretched cabins, where soul and body sympathised in the absence of every comfort, and on the threshold of the land they had toiled in love to reach, each of these men of missionary fame breathed

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out his spirit into the bosom of God. And the death scenes are not the only ones in which we see a resemblance between Martyn and Xavier. It is true there must ever be contrast between a missionary who in his testimony knows "no man save Jesus only," and one who preaches, together with Jesus, as many intercessors as the idols of the heathen. Yet, as we have seen, there is abundant reason to believe that Xavier's heart was true to God, and that the faults of his character and of his ministry arose from no want of devotedness, but from the influence of the apostate Church, which failed to pervert more completely the servant of whom she was unworthy. Xavier was educated at Paris, Martyn at Cambridge; the fetters of the former were rivetted by the fascination of Loyola, the liberty of the latter was consecrated by the ministry of Simeon. That Xavier, in Henry Martyn's circumstances, would have been a less noble example than he of missionary service and self-sacrifice we cannot say. From the time when he first gave himself to the work, believing that he was called to it by God, there was no going back, no abatement of his self-denying zeal till he breathed his last within sight of China. Disappointment there was, and in consequence frequent changes of effort and of purpose; and the charge of inconstancy has thus, with some reason, been preferred against him. But we would rather see such apparent inconstancy, which showed the dissatisfaction of his heart with the work which was all Rome could enable him to do, than that courage and perseverance which distinguished later missionaries of his order, who settled for thirty or forty years in one spot, absorbed and contented with the labour of turning Hindus from the idolatries of India to the idolatries of Rome.

Further consideration of the character of Xavier.

In considering the character of Xavier as it appears from his labours, we have only seen the evil which resulted from the superstitions of his church, and the good

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which the man possessed in contrast with that church. One or two points, however, remain to be noticed before we can form a right estimate of the greatest of Romish missionaries. During the whole of his life in India he was protected by the power of the State, and armed with its worldly weapons. He was the commissioner of the king of Portugal, the legate of the Pope, the representative of Ignatius, and the intimate friend of all. And these powers were no mere honours paid to the zealous champion of the Church. They were intended to be used over the bodies and souls of men to coerce them to the truth, and for this purpose Xavier gladly accepted and constantly used them. It may be true that when he sailed from Portugal, the guest of the Viceroy, he declined all the comforts that were liberally provided for him, and fared more meanly than the meanest on board. This was quite in accordance with the character of the man. But what Xavier would not use for himself, he would use with all freedom and earnestness for the cause of the Church, and, as he would think, for the cause of Christ. And so we find him reproving, rebuking, exhorting, not with all long-suffering and doctrine, but with stern threats of punishment by the arm of the State. Thus the Portuguese Governor of Tuticorin, whom Xavier regarded, no doubt with reason, as a hinderer of Christianity, was threatened by him with "the utmost rigours of the Inquisition"; and the Head-men of professing Christian villages were exhorted to morality of life under pain of being carried in chains to Cochin, and suffering perpetual banishment. But we would qualify the censure which some have passed upon these proceedings of Xavier, by suggesting that there is, or should be, such a thing as discipline—which implies punishment—in the Church, and that the confusion of secular and ecclesiastical powers, and the reckoning of all worthless professors, and of whole nations, as Christians, created a difficulty in the administration of discipline, which could not have been

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solved by anything less than the condemnation of the hoary system which was the recognised Christianity of the world.

Moreover, liberty of conscience was a thing unknown and unprofessed in Christendom in Xavier's century. If men dissented from Rome, and millions did so, they did not dissent from her principles of uniformity and coercion, but from her corruptions in life and doctrine, and her extravagances of cruelty. And when they had power themselves they used it, in milder forms of persecution, against all who differed from them. Thus William Prince of Orange and founder of the Dutch Republic was charged with culpable laxity, and even suspected of atheism, because he judged, in opposition to his Protestant countrymen, that every one should be free to worship God according to his own conscience. It is sad indeed to have to associate the name of Xavier with the hellish tribunal of the Inquisition, but it is a happy and interesting circumstance that his tenderness and generosity of character shine out conspicuously in his intercourse with the very man whom he had threatened with its horrors. The Governor of Tuticorin shared the fate of the poor pearl fishers of Cape Comorin, being reduced to the greatest extremities by an invasion of the Badages. Xavier no sooner hears of his distress than he writes with the greatest urgency to his fellow-worker, Mansilla, to "fly to his relief." There is as much anxiety and sympathy and wise considerateness in this letter, the subject of which is his bitter enemy and the enemy of religion, as there is when he is describing the sufferings under similar circumstances of those who were his children in the faith. After giving minute directions regarding the assistance to be rendered immediately to the Governor, Xavier adds, "I would go myself if I could believe that my arrival would be agreeable to the Governor; but he lately renounced my friendship, writing letters full of atrocious complaints, in which, among other things, he asserted that he could not

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even mention without scandal the wickedness which had been reported to him concerning me. God and men know whether I ever did him any evil, especially such as he cannot speak of without scandal; but this is not the time for vindicating myself or complaining of his conduct. As to our present business, it is sufficient to know that he has such feelings towards me that I ought, for his own sake, to avoid meeting him, lest I should add to the grief of a man in his misfortune, and, by the sight of one whom he hates, increase a calamity already sufficiently great." Such a letter as this is alone sufficient to establish the nobility of Xavier's character. Those who understand the greatness and the rareness of Christian charity, will know how to estimate it. Had the Pope and the cardinals, who seventy years afterwards put Xavier's name in the calendar of saints, remembered how much better such a characteristic was than speaking with the tongues of men and of angels, they might have found a respectable excuse for canonising their missionary without shamelessly fastening upon him a reputation for miraculous gifts which contradicts all the testimony of his letters regarding himself.

Summary of his work in India.

To conclude our remarks on Francis Xavier, we may notice in a few words what he did in India. He baptised very many converts to Rome, but for the most part they were those who before his arrival had bargained to adopt the Portuguese religion on condition of receiving Portuguese protection. Sometimes he had influence among the heathen, as in one case where he baptised a whole village in consequence of the impression made by the recovery of a woman who seemed to be dying in her confinement, and for whom he prayed; but no second instance like this, as far as we know, occurred in India. He rebuked and exhorted his own countrymen with much faithfulness, especially the great among them, and set before them the example of a pure and self-denying

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life. He opened the way for the Jesuits in the East, and obtained for them pre-eminence among all the missionaries of Rome. For this last part of his work he would not now obtain either credit or thanks from Roman Catholics or Protestants. His influence over his own countrymen, in checking their immorality, there is reason to fear was but slight and transitory; and his converts among the heathen were such as to cause him to despair of India and of all missionary labour, and to propose to his sovereign to make the conversion of the idolators the business of the officers of the State. While, therefore, there is much that claims our admiration and sympathy in the character and life of Xavier, there is little that remains in the searching hand of truth to justify the boastful praise which Rome has lavished on her greatest apostle.

A view of Europe and the Papacy, after the pontificate of Alexander VI.

Let us now turn again for a few moments to Europe. For as the missions abroad were always in communication with the church at home, and as the life and strength of the former were constantly supplied by the men and briefs received from the popes, the successive phases and the history of the Papacy in Europe cannot be irrelevant to an account of its labours among the heathen. The true character of Roman Catholicism comes out more clearly under the high pressure of European politics than when a number of individuals are seeking with worldly wisdom to recommend its system to nations of other religions. Moreover the followers of Ignatius Loyola, of whom Xavier is too good an example, begin now so to crowd upon the scene of Indian missions that we want to know something more about their character as a Society, and the events which made them necessary to the Roman Catholic Church. They were one of the greatest phenomena of the sixteenth century, and the salvation of the Papacy.

The last view we had of Europe was in the pontificate of Alexander VI., whose bull was the authority of the

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earliest Portuguese missionaries. We would now rapidly trace the history of Rome from that date to the time at which we have arrived in India, where those veteran troops who had saved the popes are already beginning to show that the followers of Loyola are not followers of Xavier, and who, with the greatest profession of obedience, will presently assume as bold an independence as Luther, and carry their only authority within themselves in the will of their superior. Julius II. had succeeded "the infamous Borgia;" ferocity personified following the representative of lust. Leo X. was the next great shepherd of the Roman Church, a man of pleasure, and something very like an atheist; a patron of philosophers, but still more of buffoons; distinguished for the blending in his court of paganism and catholicism, and for the sale to the credulous world without of the right to commit the sins which the heads of the church indulged in without expense. This was the pope who was opposed to Luther, not a likely antagonist to conquer Divine truth and German obstinancy. There was hope for the papacy under Adrian VI—hope of prolonged existence, for cure was impossible, as that honest pope seemed to know, when he complained that the disease was in the head, and spread thence throughout the whole body. But Rome would not be saved, if salvation meant nauseous medicines and moderation in sins; and so Adrian died having effected nothing save gaining the hatred of his church and the respect of his enemies. Yet though Rome was glad to bury Adrian, there were those in the church who saw that the alternative was reformation or destruction, and who set themselves in the next pontificate to try to cleanse the Augean stables. But their efforts were in vain, and the next pontiff, Clement VII., was not the man to help them. The Capuchins strove to exorcise the demon of heresy by self-inflicted mortifications and midnight vigils, but it continued to defy them. The Theatines, more practical, and in many points strongly resembling the Jesuits who followed them, went

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into the battle under the generalship of Gaetana da Thiene and Caraffa, and did good service in a spirit of courage and asceticism. But Rome was not cleansed, and the voice of the Theatines was lost in the din of other arms than those of Luther. Clement would fight like an earthly prince, and like an earthly prince he fell. The soldiers of Germany crossed the Alps, sacked Rome, and besieged the pope in the Castle of St. Angelo. The moral effect of this fall was felt throughout Europe. Clement, who could turn with the wind, made peace with his conqueror, and hoped to retrieve his fortunes; but craft deceived him, and he fell more heavily than before, this time with the loss of England. These political difficulties, with the graver ones of religion, he bequeathed, after twelve years' reign, to his successor, Paul III., a less moral man, by repute, than himself, and a slave to astrology. Paul was forced by his helplessness to call a general council, and, in his desperate circumstances, determined in some sense to reform himself and his court. A commission to investigate abuses, with Caraffa as a leading spirit, painted the papal portrait with no flattering hand, and the horrible diseases of the church. The church listened to its report, but winced and recoiled, and decided that the time had not come for such strong measures as Caraffa proposed, and pleaded the extent of the disease as a reason for more gentle treatment. Thus this last effort failed, all the resources of Rome having been tried in vain on her behalf except one, which she knew not, and of which the spirit only was yet in existence. The unknown reserve was Ignatius and his Jesuits.

Low state of the Papacy which made the opportunity for Ignatius Loyola.

The fortunes of Rome had never been at so low an ebb since she had assumed the triple crown as they were when Ignatius stepped forward as her champion. The revival of learning as the earthly means, and God Himself as the spiritual power, had waked up millions from the bosom of the ignorant and sensual church. The Reformation spread throughout Europe,

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everything that was good and true, if only secular, striking a blow for it against the tottering Papacy. Rome had no arms to withstand these assaults. She thundered, but her lightnings were harmless to most of her enemies. She had reigned as the queen of darkness, but darkness was flying before the light. Knowledge had penetrated not into Germany and England only, but into Italy itself, and some popes and cardinals had played with the novelty, strangely ignorant or forgetful that knowledge meant heresy, and heresy meant revolt. Had Rome possessed knowledge to meet the knowledge of the Reformers, and an appearance of morality to rival their morality, the battle might have been equal; but such weapons were not to be found in her armoury, nor did it seem likely that any one could furnish her with them. But the Jesuits brought her these and more, and by the genius of Ignatius Loyola communicated life and energy to the palsied and moribund Papacy. We have already seen Ignatius at Paris, gathering to himself the choicest fruits of its university. With these he presented himself to Paul III., and was accepted; not, however, as the founder of a new order, or as General of the Jesuits; for Ignatius, though he had made his plans three years before, was too wise to startle the Pope and to make enemies by proposing a new order of monkhood at the very time when half Europe was in arms against those already in existence. He offered himself and his friends to the service of the Pope, to preach in public, and teach children, taking no pay, but living on alms, lodging in hospitals and seeking God only. Three years' trial satisfied the Pope, so that in September, 1540, he established the order of the Jesuits, and in 1543 he removed the restrictions with which he had qualified the first charter. The growth of the Society from the beginning was prodigiously rapid. When it was three years old it contained eighty members, the greatest number which was contemplated by the first

Rise and progress of the Jesuits.

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bull of Paul III being sixty. Three years more sufficed to create ten Jesuit establishments in various parts of the world, and another period of the same length increased the number to twenty-two. The Society was not seven years old before it was the chief power in Catholic Christendom, the object of curiosity and admiration to all ranks of society, courted by kings and learned men, and manifestly indispensable to the Pope. The Jesuits earned their fame: they were no mere favourites chosen by caprice. They offered to do a great work, and they did more than they said. They stirred Europe and the world for the Papacy; stirred it, not as St. Dominic or Peter the Hermit had done, but as it never had been stirred before or could have been by any but the children of Ignatius. Their weapons were not papal bulls and flaming faggots, although they had a place for these; nor were they the words of enthusiasm, although enthusiasm was not wanting. They fought by intellect, and learning, and craft which even the sixteenth century with its new found strength—century of Luther and Erasmus, of letters and of Protestantism—was unable to conquer. The Council of Trent gave Ignatius an early opportunity of showing the world the value of his Jesuits. Two of the Society attended as the special defenders of the interests of the Pope. Protestant truth appears in some measure to have illumined the Augustinian monks, the old associates of Luther, for their General attempted to demonstrate to the Council something like the Reformer's doctrine on the subject of Justification. But the learning and eloquence of the Jesuit champion, Laynez—the former of which appears in the account we have of it absolutely super-human—overwhelmed all opposition, and re-established the old Christ-dishonouring doctrines of Rome. Laynez fell ill with his labours, and the Council, astonished, admiring, and grateful—while the world waited impatiently for its decisions—suspended its business until the Jesuit's recovery.

Equal prodigies were being performed on other fields

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by this devoted band. They were everywhere in Europe, and in Africa, America, and India besides. Their schools grew into colleges, their colleges into universities. At Coimbra alone, in 1551, they were moulding 150 students. The year following, the Rector of Salamanca university preferred a place in their novitiate to one in the college of cardinals, and high-born and learned men—among them Francis Borgia, Duke of Gandia—had long preceded him. In the midst of all the stir, the fame, and the labour, side by side with the Roman pontiff stood Ignatius Loyola, the man of boundless ambition yet imperturbable calm, governing as never pope or emperor the forces which he had created; directing and controlling, by his gigantic mind and will, the energies of all his Jesuits in every corner of the earth. The forces of Loyola were those which above all others strove to establish Roman Catholicism among the heathen. Rome has had no missionaries in the East who for earnestness, perseverance, and abilities, can stand a comparison with the Jesuits. It is therefore important to our subject briefly to enquire what a Jesuit is, as distinguished from other missionaries and other men. He is a picked man to begin with. Great as are the influences that are brought to bear upon him when he submits himself to Jesuit training, he must have evident talent, to be developed and directed by that training. Wealth, nobility, good manners and appearance—everything that tells in the world—is valued and sought for, but it will scarcely be accepted without talent, and certainly not without malleability. The unequalled personal influence of Ignatius in the first place, and the hold which his followers quickly obtained, by their training establishments, over the minds of the young, made his choice of good materials easy. But it was not his choice of men, but his training of those who were chosen that displayed most clearly the genius of Ignatius, and that accounts for the strength of his

A Jesuit as a man and as a missionary.

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society. Ignatius was an enthusiast, at least in the beginning of his course; but he was far more of a schemer. He nearly killed himself at Manreza in his desperate efforts to surpass the fakirs of the desert in their frightful asceticism; but when he had recovered from these mortifications and the season of delirium that followed, he had the ability to collect the experiences of both, and to weave from them a sytem of mental education which he called "spiritual exercises," and which, if it put the most learned Frenchman of the day mad, broke the wills and governed the spirits of thousands, and attached them, with a power which no other human system has possessed, to one another and to their general.

Chief characteristics of the "Spiritual Exercises" and the "Constitutions."

It would be out of place to discuss here the "spiritual exercises" of Ignatius, or the "Constitutions" of his Society, which were the other great means of bringing into the world that almost indescribable class of beings so well known and feared under the name of "Jesuits." But we may notice that the chief characteristic of the former, which consisted in a course of meditations on the principal subjects of Christian doctrine as taught by the Church of Rome, was its power of impressing the senses with things which are wholly spiritual, and so of appearing to triumph over nature, and to lead men into perfection, when in truth their hearts were altogether unchanged; while the effect of the latter was to produce and to strengthen continually a desperate selfishness, which defied or explained away every law human or divine that barred its progress, but of which the self was not the individual man, but the Society in which he was taught to forget his individuality.

Power necessarily possessed by the new Order.

Thus, in the new phase of Catholicism there was much outward morality, and what the world mistook for holiness, while the volcano of human depravity was

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burning within; and there was much labour and patience and suffering in the name of God and of the supposed head of his Church, with the one real motive of glorifying the order of the Jesuits. No wonder, then, that 20,000 of these men, carefully chosen and skilfully educated, bound together by common training and common separation in heart from all but the new self of their Society, should do great things, and should even govern the world for a time. No wonder, either, that such a system of self-deception should break down in some notable instances, and, as in the mission field of China and India, and in every country in Europe, the men who were the right arm of the Papacy and the idols of their Church should become objects of universal execration for utter apostacy and intolerable crimes.

Exceptions to the general bad character of the Society.

This brief sketch may call to mind the general character of the Society, which in the middle of the sixteenth century supplied and directed the energies of the Romish Church, and whose bands of missionaries were by that time treading quickly in the path of Xavier, and passing to the front and to every post of command and responsibility in India, China, Japan, and all the colonies of the East. Yet they were not all bad men; the memory of Xavier forbids us to think so: and there were others who were honest as he was, especially those who joined him in his Japanese expedition, and Gaspar Barzans, the Belgian, whose preaching during a short residence at Goa is said to have produced a powerful impression on the Portuguese. We may reasonably hope that there was a spark of spiritual life in these men, and that they were the means, notwithstanding their delusions, of kindling such a spark in the minds of some heathen. But no doubt they were rare exceptions. The story of Jesuitism in India and China, if we must allow it a place at all, is one of the very darkest pages in the history of Christianity.

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Failure of the system in India.

A leading peculiarity of the Jesuit constitutions was the absolute and blind obedience which they required all members of the Society to yield to their superiors, and this, together with the regular and frequent "manifestations of conscience" which they demanded, and the secrets of which were all transmitted to the General for practical use, promised a perpetual cohesion in the Society, and an absence of all rebellion. But this promise was quickly broken, at least in India. Rebellion in Europe, under the eye of Loyola, was, perhaps, impossible. His influence seemed irresistible, and his anger, when once roused, was terrible. But India was far from Italy; and although Loyola had his eye upon the distant mission field, and knew well how to deal with instances of disobedience, it was long before such could be reported to him, and before his lash could reach the offender. When Xavier left India for Japan, he transferred the greater part of his authority to a Jesuit named Paul Camerti, who was rector of the college at Goa. But he reserved for another Jesuit, Antonio Gomez, "full and absolute power over the novices of the seminary, with the entire management of the revenue and property of the College." Xavier had too good an opinion of his fellow-Jesuits. In communicating his arrangement to Camerti, he wrote, "From my intimate acquaintance with all the labourers of the Society of Jesus, who serve God and the church in these regions, I am of opinion that they do not need any ruler to guide them in the ways of God; nevertheless, in order that they may not lose the opportunity of gaining additional merit by obedience, and since strict discipline requires it, I think it expedient that they should have some one to whom they may pay obedience." Vows are easily broken, even by those who have been subdued by the "spiritual exercises;" and the "constitutions" themselves, with their substitution of expediency for principle, and justification of everything which a Jesuit could think for the good of the Society, or "the greater

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glory of God," taught every member of the Society the way to break them. Moreover, this division of power in India was a serious error, and a very singular one for an associate of Ignatius Loyola to have committed, as it was plainly contrary to the main idea of his strong military government. The result was disastrous to the Society. During Xavier's long absence the two rulers quarrelled, and the more self-willed, Antonio Gomez, transformed the missionary college at Goa into a training establishment of Jesuits, and afterwards removing to Cochin, he expelled the Franciscans from their college in that place, with a view of appropriating it to the same purpose. Xavier's return, however, stopped his proceedings, and the refractory Jesuit was banished from India, and perished at sea on the way to his place of imprisonment.

Xavier's mistake.

After chastising several other offenders, Xavier showed that he had profited by experience, and before leaving for China, he did what Ignatius himself would have done, and appointed Gaspar Barzœus, who had hitherto been stationed at Ormuz in the Persian Gulf, to the undivided command of all the Jesuits east of the Cape of Good Hope. Barzœus very soon died, and Xavier did not survive him. What arrangements and what labours followed, history very scantily informs us, and it is not worth our while dwelling longer on the monotonous details. The character and the work of the first Jesuits in their efforts among the heathen are indicated with sufficient plainness by the facts which we have noticed. It is interesting, however, to know that even the "Apostle of India" was not uncensured in his labours. The stern spirit of Ignatius was dissatisfied with his reasons for leaving India, and at the time of his death he was under a peremptory order to return to Europe with all possible speed, and in the mean time to send home one of his associates to undergo the examination of the

He rectifies it on leaving the country for China.

Recall of Xavier by Ignatius.

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General. Xavier never received this order. He went to render his account to God, instead of doing so to the man who had usurped His place.

Commencement of the attack upon the Syrian Church.

While Xavier was baptising his thousands of heathen, and growing up to the stature of a missionary saint and hero, other hands were working not less diligently than his to crown the Pope and to glorify Rome in another field of labour. It was not to be expected that Roman Catholics from Europe—Roman Catholics of the sixteenth century—should be content to dwell side by side with independent Christians who knew nothing of the Pope, of transubstantiation, or purgatory. To look for such a thing would have been as unreasonable as to expect that, in the present age of the world, "the wolf should dwell with the lamb, and the leopard should lie down with the kid." For forty years, indeed, the Portuguese appear to have left the Syrian Church unmolested, but this could only have been because their hands were fully occupied in establishing and maintaining themselves in the country, or because the Christians at Malabar, with their 40,000 fighting men, were too large a prey to be openly and hastily attacked. But a truce is not peace; and so, as soon as Rome was strong enough, she set herself to the necessary business of annexing the Syrian Church. Don Juan d'Albuquerque—the bishop of Goa who received Xavier in India, and the first who held that office—commenced the operations of the Romish Church against the Syrians. He was a Franciscan, and the Franciscans had much to do with the missions of the century, and would have had more but that the Jesuits came in everywhere and supplanted them. Don Juan sent a monk of his own order named Francis, in 1545, to visit the southern and more respectable branch of the Malabar Christians, and to induce them, if possible, to acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope. The friar took up his abode at Cranganore,

First effort by means of the Franciscans.

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and was encouraged by the courtesy and friendliness of the Syrians, who opened their churches to him and gave him full liberty to preach. But no converts attested the power of his preaching, although Roman Catholic authorities speak highly of his persuasive eloquence; and the old historian Geddes shrewdly inquires how it happened that this father, of whom we hear little afterwards, possessed in his *first year* in India so much greater power than Xavier, since he laid no claim to a miraculous gift of tongues. The Syrians, finding the Franciscan was an enemy, continued to go their own way and civilly left him to his; and as he had even erected churches in their city, to teach them the right style for such sacred buildings, they were probably cast empty upon his hands. But all the servants of Rome know how to wait when they cannot strike; and so the friar, by permission from Goa, founded a college, and set himself to the task of making Romish priests out of Syrian youths. Education is always a tempting bait, and as the Franciscan, no doubt, taught freely, it is not to be wondered at that some poor Malabar Christians were found as unwise as thousands of English Protestants at the present day, and although they would no longer listen to the friar's preaching, were willing to accept his lessons for their sons. Whatever else he taught them, Father Francis took care they should learn the language and ritual of Rome, and when this was accomplished they were ordained priests and intended to convert their countrymen. The Syrians, however, were not prepared for such sudden conversion. They gave up their Romanised sons rather than their liberty, and the Franciscan found the fruits of his college a company of apostate Syrians who could in no way further his work. After this experience Father Francis appears to have despaired of success, and to have abandoned the field to more subtle and persevering labourers.

Attempt of the Jesuits.

The Jesuits read the lessons of his failure, took up his tools, and went to work in their

own way. The college was a good thought, the Latin dress and language bad; and so the men who knew better than any others how to trim to the times, set up a new college about three miles out of Cranganore, and let it be known that they would teach without invading the time-honoured language of the Syrians or altering the dress of their students. By this means another hopeful opportunity was gained. Students came in and submitted to Jesuit influence for the sake of Jesuit learning. But when the fathers sought the results of their labours they were very small. Indeed, they were more dishonourably defeated than their predecessor; for while the Franciscan was foiled by the elders of the Christian community, the Jesuits were outwitted by the lads themselves, who took what they could get, and then prayed for the patriarch of Babylon, and maintained the opinions of their ancient church in the very faces of their Romish teachers. This would perhaps have staggered other men, but Jesuits are not like other men. As Napoleon said of our countrymen on the field of battle, "They don't know when they are beaten"; and so they were not long in trying stronger measures for success. The Syrian bishop appeared to be the great hindrance to the work of proselytism. He possessed vast influence over the Christians of Malabar, governing them in all civil as well as ecclesiastical matters, and therefore having more the dignity of a pope in his diocese than that of a simple bishop. This made it necessary that he should sooner or later be taken out of the way, to make room for the Roman pontiff. It seemed probable, too, that if he were removed at once, some of his people would submit in his absence to their self-elected teachers. The Jesuits had no excuse for laying hands on an innocent man, and the venerable head of an independent church; but such a difficulty has ever been a small one to Rome, and to her Jesuits in particular. With them, might is right; and there was might enough in the Portuguese viceroy, and

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in the Jesuit influence which governed him, to cause the Syrian bishop to be seized at Cochin, and carried away to Portugal. But, for the third time, the emissaries of Rome were outwitted by the simpler Syrians. Mar Joseph, whom they probably supposed to be lodged in a dungeon of the Inquisition, or at least to be separated by many thousand miles from his flock, soon and suddenly reappeared in Malabar, a greater man ecclesiastically, if a less one morally, than he had left it. He had turned his visit to Portugal to his own account, and so ingratiated himself with the Regent and the Infanta by his affectation of sanctity and professed belief in all that was of the Church of Rome, that they had sent him back with honour to his bishopric, thus recognising his ordination by the Babylonish patriarch. However, there is reason to believe that Mar Joseph was really in a great measure Romanised before his involuntary visit to Europe. The heads of the Syrian Church in the sixteenth century appear to have been, with few exceptions, distinguished for unfaithfulness, moral cowardice, and ambition, which made them ready, on their first contact with Rome, to sell the liberties of their people for a personal consideration. Thus Mar Joseph is said to have been in the habit of visiting the Portuguese at Cochin in order to earn from them the character of a good Catholic, and at the same time to have warned certain youths, whom the latter had introduced to him to be spies upon his conduct, against the favourite Romish doctrine that Mary was the mother of God. This duplicity, instead of strengthening his position, was the first cause of his troubles. It must have weakened his influence over the worthier members of his own church, and it made the opportunity which the Portuguese were seeking against him. Yet this man was not the first in his office who trod this path of shame. In 1549, Xavier wrote to the king of Portugal in the following terms about one who was probably

Seizure and transportation of the Syrian bishop—Joseph.

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the immediate predecessor of Mar Joseph—"For forty-five years a certain Armenian bishop, Jacob Abuna by name, has served God and your majesty. He is a man equally dear to God on account of his virtue and his sanctity, yet despised and neglected by your majesty, and by all who have any power in India. God has himself provided for his welfare. He regards us as unworthy of the honour of being employed as instruments for the consolation of his servant. The fathers of the order of St. Francis alone take care of him, and surround him with benevolent attentions which leave nothing wanting. . . . . This man is most worthy of the character I give him, because he spares no labour in ministering to the Christians of St. Thomas; and now, in his decrepid age, he most obediently accommodates himself to all the rites and customs of the Church of Rome." But, however such converts satisfied Xavier, they did not find it so easy to satisfy Don Juan d'Albuquerque; and in spite of the royal favours and compliments with which Mar Joseph returned to India, the bishop of Goa denounced him as a hypocrite to his face. Yet he allowed him to return to his diocese for good strategical reasons. Wily as the Syrians might be, Rome was sure to play the deeper game, and to win at last if wits decided the contest. Mar Joseph got a triumph when his enemies intended his ruin, but that being done they had the skill to make his triumph more useful to themselves than his ruin at that time would have been. It was thus that Don Juan sent him back to his diocese, because he knew that another was there before him, and that the two rival bishops would fight Rome's battle each against the other. The Syrians, dependent for everything upon their civil and ecclesiastical rulers, as the Jesuits had observed, and despairing of Mar Joseph's return, had sought another

An early example of Syrian conformity to Rome.

Reception and treatment of Mar Joseph by Don Juan d'Albuquerque.

Schism in the Syrian Church.

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bishop from their patriarch at Babylon, and one named Abraham had been consecrated and sent to fill the vacant see. When Mar Joseph returned, Mar Abraham was in his place, and neither had any inclination to retire. A schism was the necessary result. Most of the Syrians stood by the new prelate, because he was as yet unconnected with Rome. But power at any price was the motto of these men, and their eagerness to obtain it was, as usual, in inverse proportion to their worthiness. The weaker applied to the Portuguese for help—to the men who had seized his person that they might ruin his church. The Portuguese were quite willing to accept Mar Joseph as their tool, and at once laid their hands to the work. His rival was put out of the way, as he had been formerly—sent on a compulsory voyage to Europe. But in the accidents of a storm he managed to escape at Mozambique, and to make his way to Mosul, where his patriarch confirmed his title as bishop of Malabar. However, he knew by this time that no Babylonian credentials would command respect from Romish ecclesiastics, and he did not know what it was to put his trust in God; so he thought that the best stroke of worldly wisdom was to go to Rome, submit to the Pope, and receive the bishopric from his hands on the terms which he should dictate. Pius V. was a stern pontiff, and his terms were hard for Mar Abraham. To anyone who had not sacrificed faith and truth to policy they would have been unbearable. He required the Syrian bishop to abjure his ancient creed and to submit to Roman ordination as the conditions of regaining his diocese. As Mar Abraham thought more of being a bishop than of being a Christian, and these were the Pope's terms, he was soon on his way to India with Papal authority. Before he arrived there his

Mar Joseph applies to the Portuguese for help.

Mar Abraham transported.

He goes to Rome and submits to the Pope.

Mar Abraham returns to India with Papal authority.

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rival was gone. Duplicity had deceived him. Thinking himself safe in Malabar he had broken his vows to the court of Portugal and resumed Syrian ways, so the Portuguese seized him a second time, and had him transported to Rome. What became of him there we are not told; but it is easy to imagine, when we remember that the reigning pope was a bigoted and blood-thirsty persecutor, a friend of the Inquisition, and the man who forbade the soldiers of the king of France ever to spare the life of a Huguenot prisoner.

The last of Mar Joseph.

Mar Joseph being finally removed, Mar Abraham might naturally have expected to take quiet possession of the diocese. But the Jesuits and their allies in India were determined to get rid of Syrian bishops, and therefore the authority of the pope availed no more than that of the patriarch of Babylon, and both together were insufficient to keep Mar Abraham out of a Portuguese prison. Thus again events were telling the Syrians the vanity of deceit, and their bishop, in the hands of his persecutors, had time to reflect on his journey to Rome, where he had sold his conscience and his character for—nothing. However, he managed to escape, as he had done at Mozambique, and was soon in the midst of his people. There he followed in the footsteps of his predecessors, trying to please all and pleasing none, re-ordaining his priests according to the ritual of Rome, and returning as much as he dared to the doctrines and customs of Syria. The Portuguese were of course enraged, and eager again to lay hold upon him, but he had been twice in their hands, and had learnt to keep out of them. He ventured, notwithstanding, to attend a council at Goa, on receiving a summons from the pope with letters of safe conduct. There, with characteristic facility he promised everything that was required of him, and with characteristic faithlessness, did nothing when he returned home

Mar Abraham put in prison.

He escapes, and behaves like his predecessors.

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except to hold another Romish ordination. This it would be natural for him to do in self-justification, since he had submitted to papal ordination while at Rome. At the same time he wrote to the Chaldean patriarch to assure him that he remained true at heart to the ancient church of Babylon. The weight of years and the anxieties of his position pressing heavily upon him, Mar Abraham, some time after this, begged from the patriarch an assistant, who, in case of his death, might succeed him in the diocese. His wish was granted, but he soon found that he had asked for trouble to himself, and his church. The days of the feud with Mar Joseph were revived. The assistant set himself up as independent bishop; the church was again split in two, and the new and the old prelates anathematised one another, while the Portuguese, and the Jesuits especially, looked on with satisfaction to see their enemies so earnestly doing their work. Mar Abraham, finding himself the weaker of the two, called in the aid of the Europeans, who were always as willing to sell their services as he was to sell himself. They had become adepts at bishop catching, and now for the fourth time they tried it with success. The younger prelate, Simeon, was persuaded by the Franciscans to do as Abraham had done, and seek the patronage of the pope; but fate mocked his folly by giving him the voyage as a prisoner, and leaving him an exile for life in the hands of the men he had unworthily courted. Neither the pope, nor the inquisitors at Lisbon, tell us what they did with Mar Simeon. But if the Portuguese relieved Abraham of his rival's presence, it was only that they might be nearer to their object of depriving the Syrian church of its native leaders, since they reasonably expected that death would soon do their work with the aged survivor. The schism, too, which was in their favour, was kept open by the opposition of Simeon's vicar-general Jacob, a valuable man to the Portuguese,

The schism in the church renewed.

Mar Simeon disposed of.

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though an enemy, since he had influence enough to divide the church without that episcopal authority which it was their great aim to destroy. Had he been a bishop, and had his life been prolonged, this man would have given Rome trouble, for he seems to have been distinguished by something of the courage and uprightness which were so lamentably wanting in all the four bishops who have passed before us. The ecclesiastics of Goa made one more attempt, in 1590, to get the old prelate into their hands, inviting or summoning him to a council of their church, but he would not be charmed, and, as age soon after confined him altogether to his house, they had to allow him to spend the remainder of his days in peace, and in the open profession of the Syrian faith.

A new rival to Abraham.

A more formidable enemy to the Syrian Church than any which had yet assailed her was at this time buckling on his armour, and getting ready for a Romish crusade. This was Don Alexis de Menezes, archbishop elect of Goa. His orders from the pope were to examine into Mar Abraham's conduct, and if he found him guilty, that is, found him Syrian and not Romish, to seize him, and appoint a governor or vicar-apostolic of the Roman communion to administer the affairs of the diocese. Menezes was a distinguished Romanist, for his zeal outshone that of the pope. He condemned the Syrian prelate at once; but the old man had now to give in his account to a higher tribunal than that of Portugal, and he died in his bed, unaffected by the anathemas of Rome. His rival, Jacob, had died a little while before, so that Menezes had an easier work as well as greater talent than those who had gone before him. The prospects of the Syrians were then dark indeed, for the pope had given orders, which were faithfully executed, to prevent any communication of the Chaldean patriarch with the church of Malabar. Menezes nominated a Jesuit to the bishopric,

Arrival in India of Don Alexis de Menezes.

Death of Mar Abraham.

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but the governor and council at Goa, who knew better than the archbishop the character which the Jesuits had earned in India, would not confirm the appointment. The leading man among the Syrians was now the archdeacon George; and it was deemed the best policy to get him to accept confirmation in his office by papal authority. A joint commission with Romish ecclesiastics was first offered him, and on his refusal of this, Menezes proposed to him to retain the sole charge of his church, after subscribing to the articles of the Romish faith.

Another Syrian leader.

We have now another Syrian leader before us, and we naturally turn with pleasure from the consideration of his unworthy predecessors, hoping for better things in the new character which the history introduces to us. But all is again disappointment. If experience teaches the foolish, the Syrian leaders were worse than foolish, for they learnt nothing by experience, and archdeacon George, with the failures of Joseph and Simeon and Abraham before him, prepared to resume the battle with those weapons of dissimulation which Rome knew how to use so much better than any of her enemies. It is sad to see a church bearing such a character as that of Malabar—its members simple, honourable, generous, even by the reports of their persecutors—represented by men who are unworthy to be reckoned Christians at all.

Some reasons for the faults of the preceding leaders.

But, as we have already noticed, there was great weakness in the churches of the East. A conservatism unknown in Europe had preserved among them the profession of much primitive doctrine, but the life was for the most part gone; and while the recognition in any way of pure Gospel morality may have been sufficient to make the homely lives of the Syrians a pattern to the surrounding heathen, it was not enough to fit their leaders for discharging the duties and overcoming the temptations of the episcopate in those days of cruel, deceitful, and patronising Popery. It ought

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also to be noticed, that the Syrian bishops were probably in many cases strangers to India until they entered upon their office. This seems, at any rate, to have been the case with Abraham and Simeon, whom the Chaldean patriarch sent out at the request of the Syrians; and if so, the character of these men reflects dishonour, not upon the church which suffered from their misconduct, but upon the patriarch who could entrust the sacred office of a bishop to such unworthy hands. This fact removes much of the disgrace which at first appears ineffaceable from the character of Malabar Christianity; but much remains which we cannot remove. We have no reason to doubt that archdeacon George was a Syrian, and throughout the further history of Rome's aggressions there are so many examples of shallowness and vacillation in the mass of the people, and such a constant absence of anything like spirituality of mind, or of the truth held in the power of faith, as to make it quite natural that the champion of the Church should be a man not of spiritual power but of worldly policy. This worldly policy decided the archdeacon to temporize with Menezes, and to promise to do all he required at a certain time. When the time came he broke his word, as he had all along intended to do. But Menezes was not a man to be trifled with, and the archdeacon trembled as he threatened to visit the Serra. He therefore offered to subscribe to the Romish articles before any one but a Jesuit. The Jesuits were disgusted, but Menezes took him at his word, and appointed a Franciscan to hear his confession. The confession, however, when it was extorted, was found to mean nothing, and the archdeacon was compelled to make another before certain other monks of the same order. But if on the former occasion he knew that his confession meant nothing, on the latter he comforted himself and explained to his people that he knew nothing of what it meant. He had simply put his name

Temporizing policy of the archdeacon.

His unmeaning confessions.

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to a paper written in Portuguese, of which language he was happy to be ignorant. After this attempt to satisfy the Romanists, the archdeacon continued to preach as a Nestorian. But he did not know the man he had to deal with. Menezes was soon in his territories, pushing the battle to the gate. A terrible man was this new archbishop, with one strong arm for the Church and another for the State; zealous and crafty, bold and yet cautious; equally at home in treating with kings, outwitting the archdeacon, bullying his priests, and deceiving his people; in all things worthy to have been a general of the Jesuits. He intended no hasty raid upon the Serra, but a visitation which should make him master of the country; not of the person of the chief offender, for that, however it might have satisfied his predecessors, would have been little to Menezes, but of the churches and of the whole population. This was no easy task; for though the Syrian bishops had shown themselves faithless, the mass of the people had no motive for changing their religious opinions, and had stoutly resisted the Franciscans and Jesuits who had laboured to make them do so. But the Archbishop, knowing his powers, not only undertook this difficult task, but filled his hand with politics too, and showed himself as skilful in plotting against hostile or friendly rajahs for the aggrandisement of Portugal as he was in proselytising among the simple but obstinate Syrians. He commenced his visitation at Cannanore, and proceeded thence to Cochin, where he was met by the terrified archdeacon. But archdeacon George looked strong as yet, for a numerous band of Syrian soldiers protected him, and their captains swore to resist the designs of Menezes. The archbispop betook himself to preaching, in which he must have had singular faith, since the people are said not to have understood a word of his speech. Still, a Romish archbishop in his canonicals was an imposing

Menezes' intentions in visiting the Serra.

He preaches in Portuguese.

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sight, and Menezes had at least as much hope of converting the people by their eyes as by their ears; and, no doubt, there were some who were able to tell the unlearned afterwards how the archbishop had been exposing the errors of Nestorianism, and proving the claims of the Church of Rome.

The Syrians were a people remarkable for civility, and while Menezes refrained from abuse they would listen to him, or at least look at him with respect, and many even submitted to be confirmed, having been sufficiently prepared for the rite, according to Romish judgment, by a "procession for sins." But little was really gained as yet, excepting two Syrian ecclesiastics. The people generally remained unconvinced, even when they allowed the hands of Rome to be laid upon them, and the violence of Menezes in denouncing their patriarch at Babylon, excited their anger and put him in some danger from the more warlike Syrians, while the naires, or Hindu soldiery, against whose idolatry he inveighed with equal boldness, were naturally offended by the overbearing demeanour of the foreign priest. Aware, however, that Hindus and Syrian christians would mutter long before they would strike a blow at the representative of Portugal, Menezes went on his way, getting wiser and more formidable by experience.

Confirms some of the Syrians and gains two ecclesiastics.

Half a dozen places had been visited with these results, when the archbishop had a conference with archdeacon George, at which it was determined to hold a synod, for the settlement of all vexed questions, and to refrain, in the meantime, from speaking or acting against each other. This was such a truce as the church of Rome has often resorted to—one by which she has no intention of being bound herself, seeing it is unnecessary to keep faith with heretics, but by which she hopes to tie the hands of her opponents, who may reasonably be expected to have more conscience

Confers with the archdeacon, and proposes to hold a Synod.

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than herself. The archbishop and the archdeacon parted, the latter to do nothing, the former to conduct important political arrangements, to plan the destruction of a fort being built by a friendly native prince, to proclaim a victory on the defeat of his countrymen, and to break his faith with the Syrians on the earliest convenient opportunity.

Archdeacon George being deceived, breaks off communication.

Fear of Menezes had hitherto restrained archdeacon George from open hostility. He had hoped against hope, and tried hard to believe some of the promises of his adversary. He would have purchased peace at any price but the absolute subjection of his church to Rome; but that was Menezes's only price, and the archdeacon was now forced to see it, and to accept the only position that was left him. He warned his people and the native princes of the common danger, and called upon them to thwart the Romish prelate. The Rajah of Cochin did what he could, but he was too late. Menezes held an ordination at Diamper, and so attached thirty-eight priests to himself and the cause of Rome. Thence he moved to Carturté, a place of considerable importance, where even greater success attended him. Threatened on his way by the naires, insulted by the Christians, ordered out of the district by the native ruler, he quietly worked on with his many tools until Carturté gave in its submission and was duly Romanised. To produce such a result the archbishop had to use all his talent. The naires were braved or avoided; the ranee treated with, cajoled and outwitted; the Syrians plied with every means by which the church of Rome makes converts. The authority of Menezes with his own church and countrymen, and consequent power to promote those who espoused his cause, would doubtless determine some to join him. Two at least, already inclined that way, were gained by money and

First ordination of Syrians by Menezes.

Conquest of the church at Carturte.

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promises, while the people in general were tempted by music, displays of dress, and similar appeals to their senses. At first this pomp, contrasting with their own simple worship, offended the Syrians; but it was too pleasing to human nature to continue to do so with men who had but little spiritual life, and so it worked as Menezes expected it to work, and gaining a place for itself, it introduced the teaching and the ceremonies which the Romish prelate blended with it, until the poor Syrians, who were confident of their stability as Peter, were the humble servants of their church's enemy, and ready to listen quietly to his proposal of deposing their archdeacon. The means by which the archbishop completed his victory at Carturté was the affectation of extraordinary humility and virtue. He washed the feet of the cattanars or Syrian priests, visited the sick throughout the town, and dispensed alms liberally, expressing abhorrence of the "simony" of the cattanars in receiving salaries from the people. The Syrians, of course, knew nothing of the archbishop's salary, and they were overwhelmed with admiration of his disinterestedness. He utilised his success by holding another ordination, and thereby in-increasing the number of his Romish Syrian priests.

Another Romish ordination.

Having learned to convert the people, Menezes' chief business lay in managing the native princes, who had become alarmed at his success, and were striving to hinder him. This was no difficult matter to a man of his spirit, backed by the authority of Portugal. The rajah of Cochin, who was the chief offender, and who had imprisoned his subjects for giving a welcome to Menezes, was forced into an alliance, and the two shepherds—heathen king and Romish archbishop—drove the flocks of Molandurté and Diamper into the fold of the "catholic church." These three places being im-

Menezes overawes the native princes.

Molandurté and Diamper subdued.

portant centres, others of course quickly followed their example: were baptised and confirmed, instructed in the use of holy oils, the pix of the host, and other matters of equal importance, and made to see the errors of their ancient creed, the usurpation of their patriarch at Babylon, and the truth and authority of the church of Rome. Some points of Menezes' teaching, however, we do not wonder that they were slow to receive. Auricular confession was especially unpalatable. But Menezes knew how to to affect forbearance, and he could afford to wait for entire conformity in so tractable a church. He even bore with the archdeacon, whom he had intended at Carturté to depose at once. The proselytes had begged twenty days' grace for the leader they were deserting. Menezes, whose mask then was that of an angel of light, did more than they desired, and completed his visits to several other towns before he again threatened the archdeacon. The latter, forsaken by his own people, and a prey to increasing terror, at length offered to submit. Menezes gave him ten articles to sign, and twenty days in which to return them, with the abjuration of his Syrian faith. The archdeacon professed his readiness to do everything he was told, but complained of the shortness of the time. His persecutor saw that he was still leaning upon two heathen princes, the rajahs of Cochin and Mangate. Portuguese threats soon struck these props from under him, and the Syrian fell into the arms of the Roman Catholic. He signed away his faith and his liberty privately in the Jesuit college of Vaipicotta.

Objection of the Syrians to auricular confession.

The archdeacon finally submits.

A great part of the work which Rome had at heart was now accomplished. What Franciscans and even Jesuits had failed to do in many years of sapping and mining, the new archbishop had effected by a bold assault. His immense secular and ecclesiastical power, and the force and subtility of his character, had made

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him master of the Syrian archdeacon, and of many of the Syrian churches. But the work wanted consolidating: Menezes could not give his whole time to forging chains for the people of Malabar; it was necessary that they should learn to make them for themselves and to put them on one another. He therefore returned to his early proposal of holding a synod, at which the doctrines and practices of the church of Malabar should be considered and determined. No one who heard this proposal could have the slightest doubt what it meant. The man who had laboured so earnestly to establish the dominion of the pope in Malabar, could have no thought of allowing his captives to think for themselves. Yet a synod was a good thing in itself. Many of the churches were now fascinated by Menezes, the rest were terrified and disunited, and the archdeacon had surrendered at discretion. So the synod was easily arranged. The place chosen was Diamper, already famous for the ordination of Menezes' first company of Syro-Romish priests. The archbishop called together the clergy whom he had proselytised, and the archdeacon, at the command of his master, summoned the rest of the Cattanars. Six weeks intervened between the invitations and the opening of the synod—six weeks which offered one more opportunity to the Christians of Malabar to consider their position, and to avert the ecclesiastical destruction which threatened them. But as in every former case, the opportunity was lost. The church was paralysed if it was not dead. There was no effort, no consultation, no prayer. In this state of helplessness and spiritual unconsciousness they went to meet their enemies at Diamper.

Renewed proposal of a general synod.

It is held at Diamper.

But if the six weeks were nothing to the Syrians, they were much to Menezes and his church. By the assistance of Francis Roz, an able Jesuit, and an accomplished Syrian scholar,

Menezes' preparation for the synod.

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he drew up the decrees for the approaching synod, arranging what the Syrians were henceforth to do and believe, and consecrated a stone altar for every one of their churches in Malabar. But most important of all, lest any reaction among his recent proselytes should make it possible he should be found in a minority, he added fifty priests to the number he had already ordained on the abjuration of their ancient creed, gave bribes freely, and laboured in correspondence both with the Portuguese and with the native rajahs to remove every misunderstanding and every political hindrance which might affect the completeness of his success. The result was worthy of Menezes, and worthy of the Syrians. God was not in the matter on either side, as far as the testimony of history goes. There was purpose, union, and craft on the one side; apathy, disorder, and infatuation on the other. Rome, of course, triumphed. Those who are acquainted with her invasion of the Church of Britain in the seventh century, and who know how she bore down all before her in spite of the piety and heroism of hundreds of our native clergy, will not wonder at her easy conquest of Malabar.

The Syrian Church united by the synod of Diamper to that of Rome.

The synod of Diamper met on the 20th of June, 1599, and on the 26th it had settled the affairs of the Syrian Church. Considering the extent of its decrees, and the prodigious number of doctrines and practices which it corrected or introduced, business appears to have been got through very quickly; a circumstance not very remarkable when it is remembered that the real council had been sitting for six weeks in Menezes' cabinet, and that there was scarcely any faith, ability, or courage among the Syrians to oppose or even to question the decrees which the archbishop and his Jesuit colleague had prepared for their reception. If we may suppose the synod of Diamper to have represented the Syrian Church, and by their submission, obedience to the summons, and failure to make any protest,

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both the archdeacon and his clergy allowed this to be the case, that ancient church was thus legally united to Rome, and perverted to all the superstitions and idolatries of popery. No doubt there were many towns and villages in the Serra where Menezes and his doctrines were still held in abhorrence; many he had, probably, never visited, and some few had resisted him successfully; but the only native head of the church, and its representatives in the leading cities, had, through infatuation or cowardice, sold the liberties of all in subscribing the decrees of the synod of Diamper. Henceforth the pope and his warlike legate might rest from the labours of invasion, and devote their energies to the easier task of holding and governing a conquered people.

Menezes revisits the Serra, and applies the Decrees of the synod.

The activity of Menezes was not diminished by the success of the synod. He set out to apply that success by a second visitation of the Serra—not this time as the foreign ecclesiastic with unacknowledged claims, but as the Catholic archbishop of Goa, and metropolitan of the Syrian Churches. Where he was received before, he was not likely to be resisted now; consequently his progress had often the appearance of a triumphal procession. Indeed, on the occasion of his arrival at the episcopal city of Angamale, his reception is said to have been arranged after the model of our Lord's last public entry into Jerusalem. Notwithstanding this recognition of the dignity of Angamale, Menezes decreed that it should cease to be the residence of the Syrian bishop, and that Cranganore, which was more easily reached by the influences of Goa, should be the episcopal city. As he passed from place to place, he not only, as apostles had once done, "delivered them the decrees for to keep," but he added what apostles did not, and enforced the keeping of them with a strong arm of flesh. Everybody at Diamper, and probably in other places also, was rebaptised. The Cattanars were forced to separate from

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their wives; the people were confirmed and urged to the use of auricular confession, against which, as well as against confirmation, they still showed much of their original repugnance. All books in the Syriac language were called for, that they might be corrected according to the synod, or destroyed. From the extreme fewness of such books now in existence, it is reasonably supposed that this demand of Menezes was as fully complied with as the rest, and that the eye of the bigoted Romanist found the books of the ancient and independent church too free from the errors of his own corrupted faith, and too much in agreement with primitive and scriptural truth, to allow many of them to escape destruction. Thus this able and devoted servant of Rome afforded another of those many proofs which history keeps on record, that she is ready to destroy all knowledge, secular and sacred, in order to prolong or extend her reign of darkness over the minds of men.

Destroys many of the Syrian books.

At the close of his second visit to the Serra, Menezes appointed the humbled and powerless archdeacon to a nominal share of authority in his church, associating him with two Jesuits, the rector of the College at Vaipicotta and Francis Roz. This arrangement, however, was only to last until the people were persuaded to choose a Latin bishop, and being now Romanised themselves they were not slow to accede to the proposal. They first wanted Menezes himself to be their bishop, but he had higher honours in his church than that of bishop of the Serra, though he affected a readiness to resign all for the joy and privilege of tending the flock whom he had brought into the Catholic fold. The man who had most helped him in this work was Francis Roz, and him they selected for their bishop. Menezes left the work in the hands of this able lieutenant and returned to Goa to reap the reward of his labours. He was made Viceroy of India; and, armed with all the

The Archdeacon appointed to a nominal and temporary authority.

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secular authority of Portugal and all the ecclesiastical authority of Rome, he continued to labour by force and fraud for the glorification of his church and himself.

But this point touches the strict limit of our subject. Beyond it we pass into the seventeenth century. We must very briefly sketch the history of the Syrians after this time. Before doing so, however, we cannot but take a parting glance at the man who had destroyed their liberties. He was another Wolsey—another example of successful fraud, and late but heavy retribution. He returned to Europe, rose to the highest offices of the state, then fell, and died in obscurity; so complete being his disgrace that history scarcely pauses to tell the end of the man who had decided the fate of one of the most ancient churches of Christendom. We know that this life is not the time in which men reap their full reward; but we cannot take this last look of Don Alexis de Ménezes, Archbishop of Goa, and Viceroy of India, without recalling the words of Paul to Timothy:—"Some men's sins are open before hand, going before unto judgment."

The last of Don Alexis de Menezes.

Francis Roz was consecrated in 1601, and ruled the Syrians for sixteen years, leaving the office to other Jesuits, who completed the work which Roz had begun, and by pride, selfishness, and cruelty, taught the poor Syrians, whom they treated as slaves, to understand the character of the Church whose yoke they had put upon their own necks. For sixty years they learned their bitter lessons in the school of experience, showing how slowly they apprehended the truth by their frequent appeals to Rome for deliverance. But at last they seem to have found out that their masters were the pope's masters too, and they declared themselves again independent. They rallied under their archdeacon, but sent to Mosul, to Syria, and to Egypt for a bishop. The patriarch at Mosul readily acceded to their request, but

The rule and influence of Jesuit bishops over the Syrian Church.

The Syrians rebel after sixty years of oppression.

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the bishop whom he sent was captured, and after a time of imprisonment, from which the Syrians vainly attempted to rescue him, was murdered by the Inquisition. This crime, like most crimes, directly hindered the cause it was intended to promote. The Syrians, still divided and irresolute, needed a stimulant in their resistance; the murder of Attala afforded it, and refreshed their memories regarding the true character of the Jesuits in particular. But a subtle attack of a similar kind to that of Menezes' was more than they were able to meet. Four Carmelites set out from Rome to bring back the wanderers. Two arrived long before the others, and laboured with a good deal of skill and success to quell the insurrection. They were not Jesuits: that made them popular with many; for the churches of the South had revolted, not from Rome, but from their Jesuit bishops. But they were thwarted by the hated Order, who cared not what they sacrificed so long as they did not sacrifice themselves. Moreover, Portuguese influence could help them little; for the sun of Portugal was setting, and the Dutch, with their republican courage and Protestantism, were driving them from one stronghold after another.

An expedition of Carmelites is sent from Rome to reclaim them.

Yet the feeble Syrians, who, in less favourable circumstances, would have yielded everything, and whom Menezes would have trampled on in a few weeks, were for the most part won by the wiles of the Carmelites, who were greatly inferior in subtlety to the first conqueror. The result of many negociations, interrupted conferences, and proposals on either side, was that a great number of the Syrian churches returned to their allegiance to Rome, and accepted one of the Carmelites as their bishop. Those which did so were in the southern and wealthier division of the Serra; the churches of the north retained the independence they had resumed. But the new bishop harassed them inces-

The south of the Serra again submits to Rome.

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santly, and by means of money, patronage, heathen rajahs, and heathen soldiers, drove the free Syrians from many of their churches. He very nearly succeeded in capturing the archdeacon, and having seized his effects he burned some of them, expressing his regret that it was not the rebel's body he was committing to the flames. The capture of Cochin by the Dutch, in 1663, checked his progress; for the Dutch drove all priests before them, and refused to allow them to return even in time of peace. This determined the Romish bishop to retire to Europe, but he had previously consecrated a native suffragan, whom he left to supply his place. The Dutch did nothing directly for the free Syrians, but even showed a preference for the Romish party, being deceived by the misrepresentations of the Carmelite bishop. Their arrival, however, was the termination of persecution and active hostilities. From that time the Serra was divided between two churches, national and Romish, bitterly opposed to one another, although they had groaned together under sixty years of Jesuit oppression. The archdeacon, whom his priests had ordained as bishop during the imprisonment of Attala, and the Syrian whom the Carmelites had set over the Southern churches, died about the same time. After this the Northern churches seem to have been for some time without a head: possibly the temporary freedom of the South from Jesuit bishops caused them to relax something of their zeal for independence. In 1708, they are said to have received a Nestorian bishop from Syria, and this agrees well with the fact that the South, after being governed by natives under Carmelite influence, fell again into the hands of the Jesuits in 1701. The last link of this period which we possess in the chain of Romish bishops, is the accession of another Jesuit to the

Persecution of the free Syrians by the Carmelite bishop.

Open persecution checked by the arrival of the Dutch.

Deaths of the Northern and Southern bishops.

The Jesuits again in the episcopate.

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episcopal office in 1721. We do not wonder if the return of their old tyrants and persecutors increased the distance between the free and the Romanized Syrians. And thus the breach in the ancient Church of Malabar, which was made a thousand years ago by the pride of wealth and birth, has been kept open to the present time. No doubt it tended much, in the first days of Romish aggression, to make all the Serra an easy prey to Menezes, and so to bring the whole church under the severe chastisement which we have been briefly describing. But it is interesting to observe that the last result of that separation which the South had forced upon the North, in an unchanging spirit of contempt, and so in utter and continued neglect of Christian love, was the relighting of the candle of truth among the despised ones, while their proud brethren of the South remained for the most part in the darkness of Popery. As to the latter, suffering and trial did not, as they have often done, impart strength to their character or develope latent good. They had pure doctrine, but having no spiritual life or moral courage to maintain it, what they had was almost entirely taken away. Their light was put out, and when the extreme pressure of the dark power of Portugal was gone, they cared not and knew not how to rekindle it.

The ancient breach in the Church perpetuated.

Pride and destruction illustrated in the fate of the South.

But although history says nothing, excepting in the matter of the pride of the south, to make us prefer the northern Syrians, or expect better things from them than from their brethren, they do seem to have learnt something by the time of trouble. The account which Dr. Buchanan gives of them from his visit in 1806, represents a better state of things in some of the clergy than appears to have obtained in the time of Menezes' invasion. The portrait of the bishop especially, affords

Some little advantage reaped by the North from its troubles.

Different opinions about the state of the clergy.

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a pleasing contrast to those which the history of the sixteenth century has laid before us. It is that of "a man of highly respectable character in his church; eminent for his piety and for the attention he devotes to his sacred functions," and far superior in general learning to his clergy, although these, as far as Dr. Buchanan had experience of them, appear as intelligent and religious men. We must notice, however, that the impression made upon the mind of another church of England clergyman, who visited them twelve years later, was much less favourable, and that whatever exceptions there may have been, the general character of the clergy appeared to him to be very low. He speaks of the people as "sunk and degraded indeed," and adds, "the total disregard of the Sabbath, the profanation of the name of God, drunkenness, and to a considerable extent, especially among the priesthood, adultery, are very prevalent among them." Sorrows besides those which Rome had caused them had broken the spirit of the nation. The rajah of Travancore had conquered their country, and cruelly oppressed them; and the result seems to have been an increase of moral weakness and the diminishing of self-respect and of hope. Still, they were by no means hopeless to those who described them thus; for these true friends, who could estimate most correctly the degradation, set themselves earnestly to raise them up.

The Church Missionary Society in Malabar.

A mission of the church of England was established among them in 1815, through the exertions of Major Munro, the Christian and philanthropic resident at Travancore. By his means four clergymen of intelligence and piety were settled among the Syrians, one at Allepie and three at Cotym. The head quarters of the mission were at the latter place, and there a college was founded for the education of Syrian youths. The machinery was much the same as

A College and Schools founded, and the Scriptures translated into Malayalim.

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that of the Franciscans and the Jesuits, but the motive of the workers and the use which they made of it were very different. All that these labourers of the Church Missionary Society strove to do, was to bring back the Church of Malabar to a spiritual acquaintance with its ancient creed. One great means to this end was the dispelling of the sloth and ignorance which had settled upon the nation. The college and a number of schools, established throughout the Serra, helped to do this. But the missionaries, and some among the Syrians themselves, felt that the great means must be the dissemination of the Word of God. Dr. Buchanan, ten years before, had exerted himself to procure this boon for them, and his efforts were partially successful. The old bishop, whom he describes, entered heartily into the work, and very soon translated the four gospels into Malayalim, the vernacular language of the people. But the work seems to have stopped there for some years, as Mr. Bailey, the superintendent of the college at Cotym, devoted himself chiefly to the translation of the Scriptures, until he was able to produce the first part of his work in 1826.

Syriac New Testament provided by the Bible Society.

The Bible Society had presented the Syrians with the Syriac New Testament in 1818, providing at least one copy for every one of their churches; but this language was now scarcely spoken by any but the priests, and the great want of the people had to be supplied from the press at Cotym. Besides this best of all services, and the instruction of the Syrian youth, the English missionaries were made the medium of all the kind offices of the British government in the redress of grievances, and the general protection of the people from tyranny. And thus a most happy and well-grounded confidence has been created among this much abused people in the Established Church and government of India—a confidence which is not likely to fail in raising the moral tone of the Syrians, and reflecting honour of

Confidence of the Syrians in the English missionaries.

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the truest kind upon the country whose statesmen and missionaries have befriended them.

Proposal of uniting the Syrian Church with that of England.

More than once the desire has been expressed that this Protestant remnant of the Syrian Church might be united with the Established Church of England. Apparently the first to entertain this thought were the directors of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, who were generously lending their aid to the Danish and German pioneers of Tranquebar. But the design was abandoned as impracticable at that time, owing to the low state in which the Syrians were found. No doubt some advantages might reasonably have been expected from this union, such as the protection and support of an aged and feeble church, and the prestige and authority of that church communicated to one that, with all its numbers and strength, would be regarded in the East as foreign and of comparatively recent existence. But on the other hand, we could scarcely see without regret a church of such antiquity and such a history as that of Malabar ceasing to possess a separate individuality. It would seem to us like the transference of some grand old Roman column from its lonely forum to the busy precincts of a modern palace. Let British power overshadow and preserve it. Let Christian charity delight to enrich it with the spiritual life and knowledge of the West, but let it remain a pillar of memorial, upon which the history of fifteen hundred years is written, an independent testimony against the Apostate Church of Rome, and a witness in the midst of the heathen to the chastening but protecting hand of God.

Later Romish Missions to the Heathen.

The close of the sixteenth century was the close of the first part of the missionary labours of Rome in India. Early in the

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next century her emissaries introduced an entirely new system for the conversion of the heathen. The details of their labours do not belong to our present subject, but we cannot leave them entirely unnoticed, as it is impossible to separate between the fruits of these late missions and that of Xavier and his contemporaries in considering the influence of Hindu Romanism on the labours of Protestant missionaries.

We have already arrived at an estimate of the first Romish missions to India in considering the impression made by them upon the mind of Xavier. There was no one more competent to judge correctly in this matter; for Xavier, besides being the man of largest experience, was on the one hand honest, intelligent, and christian at heart, and on the other enthusiastic, sanguine, and zealous for Rome. He would have believed in conversions if it had been possible to do so; but after baptising tens of thousands, he left the country dissappointed and heartsick, openly declaring that there was no further need of his services, and advising his sovereign to make the conversion of the heathen the business of civil magistrates, that is, to be satisfied with compelling Hindus to adopt the name and forms of the religion of Rome, since her missionaries had no power among them to change their hearts and lives. Xavier's converts were all of the lowest caste, or of no caste, with the exception of one Brahmin, who professed Christianity in order to obtain employment; and, poor converts as they were, few of them could be claimed by him, as the mass was ready to be baptised when he reached the shores of India. His biographers and his church generally gave him credit for extraordinary success; but his wily brethren the Jesuits, while they gloried in his fame, saw that he had failed and sought to profit by his experience. Xavier's simplicity, purity, and earnestness had been thrown away upon the Brahmins, much as he had desired to bring them within the fold of his church. His successors determined to use other means for the same

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purpose. The age of blind but often honest zeal was followed by that of deliberate fraud. Xavier was the representative of the first, Robert de Nobili of the second. The latter entered upon his work about the year 1606, in the city of Madura. By that time the Jesuits were, as we have seen, in force and power in the East. De Nobili gave a new direction to their energies, and boldly developing the peculiarities of Jesuitism in himself and his associates, he gave it a form which continued to characterise the missionaries of the Society both in India and China until the suppression of the order in 1773. The zeal, the courage, the perseverance of the Jesuits had before this been tried on many a field, and had surmounted innumerable difficulties; but the Brahmins of India were stubborn antagonists, and offered no hope to ordinary means of conversion. This showed the new Jesuits that they must use extraordinary means; for Jesuits must succeed at any cost and by any means where success is possible. De Nobili and his associates sacrificed everything to their missionary object. Outside the history of true Christianity there is no record of more complete devotedness than that of the Jesuits of Madura. All the ease and comforts of life were as thoroughly yielded up as ever they have been by Protestant missionaries, or even by primitive apostles. But more than this, reputation and principle, the goodwill of their church, and even of their general, were all cast, like Palissy's last furniture, into the flames, in the hope of producing the one soul-absorbing object. Nothing was left but the proud indomitable self, which could sit in the midst of the desolation, contented with the freedom of its own bad will. These later Jesuits presented themselves to the heathen as heathen like themselves—Brahmins from another part of the world and of the very highest order. They had previously studied the language and religion of the Hindus, in order to be able to maintain this

Jesuit Brahmins and Brahminized christianity.

Devotedness of these later Jesuits.

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character; and the learning and skill which they devoted to their life-long lie have never been surpassed in the cause of truth. By the most solemn asseverations respecting their Hindu origin, by forged documents, and by the adoption of idolatrous customs, they succeeded in establishing themselves among the natives in the character which they had assumed. They then proceeded to graft some of the doctrines of Roman Christianity upon the Hinduism which they professed, by inventing a book after the model of the most sacred Shastras, with texts of Scripture and fables of Rome cleverly interspersed among the sayings of Brahma, and introducing it to the Brahmins as the fifth Veda.

Converts to Brahminized Christianity.

By these means, and by exclusive attention to the ruling caste and Brahminical contempt for the lower orders, they soon met with some measure of success; and developing gradually the Romish element of their new religion, they led those who were deceived by them into a system which they declared to Europe to be Christianity, but which Rome, and even the popes of Rome, repudiated with a rarely felt sentiment of shame. But the Jesuits worked on steadily, in spite of Papal reprimands and condemnation, and the mission field was almost abandoned to them, for Franciscans and Carmelites could not stand against these skilful and determined rivals, with their Brahminical Christianity. Their head quarters were at Madura and Pondicherry, but they spread themselves throughout southern India, and sent their emissaries to the court of Akhbar, at Delhi; while others of their order laboured on the same principles and with like results among the Buddhists of China. For nearly one hundred and fifty years the fraud of de Nobili, and the still more learned and infamous Beschi, the great Indian Jesuit of the eighteenth century, remained undiscovered, and thousands of Hindus were led to its worse than Romish Christianity. These, together with the political converts of Cape

Numbers of Romish Converts.

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Comorin, and others who had rewarded the labours of earlier missionaries in South India, amounted in 1740 A.D. to about 245,000. But from that time, the great fraud having become known, conversions among the Brahmins ceased, and the statistics of the Hindu Romish Church dwindled in 1810 to about 81,000, or one-third of what they had been seventy years before.

Immense amount of instrumentality to produce these numbers.

Thus, even numerically, Romish missions to India must be considered a failure. And this appears more clearly when we consider the vast amount of authority, and wealth, and learning, and energy which has supported them for three hundred years. For a century and a half after their first establishment there was no Protestant mission on the continent of India. With papal and royal powers their missionaries worked on without a rival. Goa, the city of churches and monasteries, sent out its 3,000 priests and overawed with its dreadful Inquisition, not only the converts of Rome, but all who would tempt them to return to their ancient faith. What terror could do, that inquisition did.

The Inquisition in India.

Founded in 1560, it blackened the soil of India till 1816. According to the testimony of the traveller Pyrand, its cruelties were even greater than those perpetrated in Spain and Portugal, its executions more frequent, its dungeons more horrible, and the hopes of its captives more groundless. To aid in the work of this hideous tribunal, Catholic Europe laboured mightily, waking up in the beginning of the seventeenth century to an activity which she had never known before. From that time, "Congregations," "Colleges," "Seminaries" for the propagation of the faith sprang into existence both at Rome and in Paris, and vastly stimulated the work of proselytism.

Worthlessness of later Romish Converts as well as of those of Xavier.

But in spite of them all there was no great harvest of converts, and what was reaped has been declared by honest Romanists, and proved by the facts of history to have been at least as worthless as the fruit of Xavier's mission.

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The Abbé Dubois, an honest Jesuit, who for many years, and with an earnestness which challenged the scrutiny of his enemies, strove to make converts in southern India, retired from the mission field in despair in 1815. His settled conviction, after this long experience, and with a knowledge of the labours of his predecessors and contemporaries, was that the conversion of Hindu idolators was an impossibility. The result of his own efforts had been the baptism of two or three hundred outcasts, vagabonds, and slaves, not one of whom could be reckoned a genuine convert, since many of them returned to Paganism, while those who continued to call themselves Christians were in their lives the worst of all. To establish his opinion he published the fact—as he said, to his own shame, but surely much more to that of his Church—that of 60,000 native Romanists seized in Mysore by the bigoted Mussulman, Tippoo Sultan, with a view of extirpating Christianity by compelling them to become Mahometans, not one was found who had the faith and courage to prefer death for the sake of Christ, to circumcision in the name of the false prophet. From the miserable condition of the converts everywhere, and the rapid decrease of their numbers, the Abbé declared his conviction that within fifty years no vestige of Christianity would remain among them. This result, if it was at that time imminent, has been prevented by a great increase of missionary effort within the Church of Rome during the last forty years. India has felt with Europe the result of the re-establishment of the Jesuits in 1814. A new life—though by no means a spiritual life—has been communicated to the missions of Rome since they recovered possession of the field. But if they succeed in restoring an appearance of numerical strength they will not surpass Xavier in zeal, or De Nobili and Beschi in learning or fraud; and therefore, having no new implements for the work, the most they can expect to do is to reproduce the weary history of the

Instance of general apostacy.

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past three hundred years, and to continue to exhibit to the world a roll of meaningless baptisms, and a paganism and immorality under the Christian name, which must go far to prove to discerning minds, whether in Europe or in India, the spiritual impotence and antichristian character of their Church.

The contrast of Protestant with Romish Missions.

But the story of Protestant Indian missions is that which proves most clearly the failure of the missionaries of Rome. In contrast with the ecclesiastical authority and the royal funds which supported Xavier and his successors, the Protestant missionaries on the mainland of India have had to struggle, in almost every instance, against comparative poverty and the opposition or plainly expressed contempt of the government. It is true that in the first efforts of Protestantism by means of Ziegenbalg and Plutchou at Tranquebar, the hand of a king laid the foundation of the work, and an archbishop had something to do with building upon it. But the patronage of these dignitaries was a very different thing from the protection and stimulant which the Pope and a Roman Catholic king could lend to the work of Xavier or Menezes. It was not enough to protect the humble and uncomplaining preachers of the Gospel from the hostility of the Danish governor, or to prevent the continual recurrence of trial and difficulty through the scantiness of the means provided for their support. Moreover their numbers were not at any time to be compared with those engaged in Romish missions; the difficulty of influencing the heathen at all had greatly increased since the days of Xavier, by reason of the shameless immorality which for two hundred years had been associated with Christianity; while the object of their labours was vastly greater and proportionately harder to attain than that which occupied the thoughts of the Jesuits, since it

Difficulties which beset Protestantism.

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was the turning of idolators to God and to holiness of life, and not merely the drawing of them to an earthly church and to a change of rites and ceremonies.

Unquestionable character of Protestant missionaries in general.

In spite, however, of these difficulties, men were found as ready as Xavier to undertake the work, and the results have shown that they did not over-rate their strength. Not that there has been no failure among Protestant missionaries. Instances of eccentricity, want of wisdom, inconsistency, and even of immorality, have occurred, which have checked the progress of the work. But there is no honest person who knows anything of the history of these missions who would not readily acknowledge that such instances, particularly those of moral inconsistency, have been extremely rare, and that Protestant missionaries have often won a hearing for their doctrines by the blamelessness of their lives. Let any one who would know the force of their testimony read the life of Christian Frederick Schwartz, the man whom Hyder Ali—Mussulman and enemy of the British—called "the Christian," and who saved the fort of Tanjore from the fierce soldier who paid him this weighty compliment by an influence over the surrounding country which no Hindu prince, or British general was able to exercise

Example of Schwartz.

And though Schwartz was a greater man than most of his brethren, their religion was the same as his, and his life presents no contrast to theirs as that of Xavier does to the lives of other Romish missionaries. If Schwartz was "the Christian" to

And the elder Gericke

Hyder Ali, the elder Gerické was known as "the primitive Christian" by those among whom he had spent thirty-seven years of holy and self-denying labour; and the later history of Southern India abounds with examples of men who for thirty, forty, and even fifty years gave evidence that they were worthy to be associated with Schwartz and Gerické, as Christians and as missionaries.

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We do not wonder, then, that in spite of such difficulties as never occurred to Xavier and his followers, particularly the infatuation of England at the beginning of the present century, in publicly patronizing idolatry and offering every possible obstacle to the preaching of the Gospel, the truth declared by the lips and the lives of these men has won its way where the superstitions of Popery have utterly failed. We do not wonder that Brahmins and men of learning and wealth have yielded to the power which has energized these missions, and that from among them and other grades of natives—Hindu, Mahometans, and Romanist—a class of men has arisen who have been worthy helpers and successors of the great Protestant pioneers of Germany, and who, having renounced the hidden things of dishonesty, have commended themselves to every man's conscience, in the sight of God, by many years of patiently endured suffering and effectual labour.

Reason of the different results of Romish and Protestant missions.

The reason of this difference between Romish and Protestant missions is easily told. The former were the efforts of man in his own will, his own wisdom, and his own power. But the task was too great for man, and so they failed. The latter were in great part the work of God; for a few weak men, conscious of their weakness, offered themselves to God for a work which strong men had been unable to do. They depended upon His Spirit, and spoke His Word, and suffered Him to work in their lives a manifestaion of His truth; and God used them, as they expected, to the conversion of many thousands in southern India. Moreover, the triumph of the simple Gospel in these first Protestant missions was enhanced not only by the greatness of the obstacles overcome, and the manifest reality of most of the converts who were gathered, but also by the successful assaults which were made upon the very strongholds of Hinduism. The high caste Hindus had hitherto been unreached by Christianity.

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Influence of Protestant truth on some Hindus of the highest caste.

Xavier had no influence with them at all. De Nobili and Beschi adopted Brahminism that they might Romanize it, and the success of their labours depended upon leaving the pride and power of the ruling caste untouched. But the missionaries of Tranquebar, although they made the mistake of allowing caste some place in their Christian assemblies, and shrunk with unreasonable fear from ordaining to the ministry a low caste native catechist, had nevertheless, in preaching the plain Gospel of God, to insist upon those who would become Christians taking up the cross and openly following the rejected Saviour. So many were willing to do this, moved by the power of truth alone, that Schwartz could answer the mischievous calumny of an enemy in the British Parliament by pointing to the fact that in three native assemblies which he and his companions had gathered, more than two-thirds of the converts were Hindus of the higher castes; and the reality of the change in the members of these Protestant churches was tested by one example among many—which contrasts strikingly with the case of general apostacy from Romanism which we have noticed on the authority of the Jesuit Dubois—when the recently baptised Christians of Tinnevelly were tried by a severe and general storm of persecution, and came out of it without one of them having been known to have denied his faith.

Proof of the sincerity of Protestant converts by the persecution in Tinnevelly.

The sudden gathering of great numbers to the cross has been rare in India as it has been elsewhere, though it has happened in unquestionable instances both in the South and North. But even while the work has progressed most slowly, and all but a few have rejected the testimony, the workers have had the experience of the Lord Himself in His ministry on earth, and have realised what apostles

Protestant missions have done all that Scripture warrants N. T. missionaries to expect.

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rejoiced to realise in the early days of the dispensation of the Spirit, that God had by their hand visited the Gentiles "to take out of them a people for his name."

The direct and indirect influence of Romanism upon evangelistic work in India.

The direct and immediate effect of Romish missions upon the later labours of Protestants has been an increase of trouble. The slightest glance at the missionary history of the last hundred and sixty years puts this beyond a doubt. Not even the heathen, whose religion was directly invaded, were such constant and bitter enemies to the truth as those who had been baptised by Romish priests in the name of Christ. It was these "Christians" who stirred up the heathen, while their own energies were stimulated to the work of persecution by their unwearying priests. Father Beschi, of the Madura mission, does not more deserve to be remembered as the deceiver of Brahmins, and the perverter, *par excellence*, of Christian truth, than as the chief opponent and persecutor of the evangelists of India during many years of the eighteenth century. These facts, however, do not prevent us seeing that real good resulted to the servants of God in India through the presence of Romanists.

Grace brought out by persecution.

"Tribulation worketh patience"—one of the rarest and, according to Scripture, one of the most precious fruits of the Spirit,—and the persecution by the Romanists which early Protestants in India had to suffer most certainly produced this result both in the pastors and their flocks; so that they had cause, through the grace and providence of God, not only to "rejoice in hope of glory," but "to glory in tribulation also," because of the blessings which it brought. But there were exceptions to this spirit of bigotry among the Romanised Hindus, doubtless where there was a lack of priests to produce it; and in some of these cases the slight inroad which Popery had made upon their original idolatries, and the name into which they had been baptised, made

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Hindu converts from Romanism.

the people ready to listen to the words of those who came to them as Christian missionaries. From this class many have been gathered into the church of Christ, and among them some of its most devoted and honoured labourers, as Rajanaiken and his brother Sinappius, who served together in the Gospel for forty-four years, and drew the well-known Sattianaden and many other Romanists to the knowledge of the truth. The priests of Rome themselves, even her Jesuits and inquisitors, have not always been able to resist the weapons of the Gospel, and some of them have been turned on the soil of India to preach the faith which once they destroyed. Anxious ones too among the heathen, awakened without any visible means to a knowledge of sin and a desire for salvation, have sometimes been led by Romish converts or Romish books to a study of Christianity which has resulted in their becoming fellow-labourers of the Protestant missionaries in the work of the Gospel.

Converted Romish priests.

Anxious ones helped by Romish agency in the search for truth.

Thus in a variety of ways God has shown that He could overrule the efforts of the apostate church to the building of His kingdom. But these are undoubtedly rare exceptions to the general influence of Romanism in India. In His moral government of the world, God allows men much liberty of will and action, and therefore evil must have room to work. Evil did work, apparently unrestrained, in the persecution of the Church of Malabar, and in the Jesuit missions which made the name of Christ to be abhorred among the heathen. But the free will and depravity of man cannot tie the hands of God. He has His purposes of government and of grace to nations and to individuals. As one of the early fathers said, "God never works in a hurry, for He has got all eternity to work upon." No nation has been raised to Christian enlightenment and moral

Closing reflections on the purpose of God in review of past history.

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strength without a long preparation. Each has its infancy, growth, and full age, and these involve a school time of experience. While the darkness remains, and while it is rolling away with a slowness that provokes the impatience of unbelief, the Judge of all the earth must be just to all, and He will as surely acknowledge the gropings after truth that are unseen by man, as He will those efforts which in better times lead quickly to the light of the Gospel. But while thus the unwritten lives of millions are judged by Him according to what they had, and not according to what they had not, the nation of which they are units is an object of deep interest to Him, and He is leading it, according to principles of infallible wisdom, into its day of light and liberty. That day for India appears now to be at hand; and if we cannot understand all the purposes of God in the events of her past history, we have light enough in her early dawning to read a part of His meaning, and we must have faith to trust Him for the rest. We can at least see cause for thankfulness in the order in which God has allowed Popery and Christian truth to try their powers upon the idolatries of India. Was there not mercy in the arrangements that 'that should not be first which was spiritual, but that which was natural, and afterwards that which was spiritual;' in allowing Romanism to manifest its moral impotence when there was no other agent at work to lend it reputation, or to divide its shame, and then bringing in the simple but powerful Gospel among a people who, wherever the Romish priest had trod, would be warned by the worthlessness of Romanism against a mere change of names and ceremonies, and taught, by the contrast of what is real with what is nominal, that there is a Christianity which consists in a living faith in the Saviour, and spiritual worship of the Spirit God.

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